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ABSTRACT

This book contains the following papers from a European research seminar examining the history and theory of cross-cultural communication in adult education: "Introduction" (Stuart Marriott, Barry J. Hake); "Formative Periods in the History of Adult Education: The Role of Social and Cultural Movements in Cross-Cultural Communication" (Barry J. Hake); "Adult Education and Associated Life in Frankfurt am Main and Barcelona: A Structural Comparison" (Wolfgang Seitter); "'With Fire and Faith': R. G. Moulton's University Extension Mission to the United States" (Janet Coles); "The Colonial Metaphor and the Mission of Englishness: Adult Education and the Origins of English Studies" (Tom Steele); "The Invention of Dutch Andragogy: The Role of Octavia Hill and Paul Natorp" (Bastiaan van Gent); "Fifty Years of an Educational Mission: The 'Tutorial Class' Movement in Anglo-German Perspective" (Stuart Marriott); "Policy-Borrowing and Adaptation in the Development of Continuing Education in Northern Ireland, 1921-1950" (John Field); "Cross-Cultural Communication in European Adult Education since the Second World War: Participants, Purposes, and Problems" (Colin Titmus); "A Geneva Experiment in University Extension in the 1890s" (Michele E. Scharer); "Debate or Babel? University Extension in the Netherlands" (Xandra de Vroom); "Institutions and Activities of Adult Education in Slovenia to the 1920s" (Jurij Jug); "Helena Radlinska and the School of Adult Education and Social Work at the Free University of Poland" (Zofia Waleria Stelmaszuk); "Edgar Zilsel, Science and Popular Education in Vienna in the Early Twentieth Century" (Johann Dvorak); "Making Popular Education Known to the Public: Dissemination of 'Volkhochschulen' in Austria 1870-1930" (Christian Stifter); and "Conditions, Aims and Functions of State Policy for Adult Education: The Austrian Example in Historical and Contemporary Perspective" (Gerhard Bisovsky). (MN)

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Cultural and Intercultural Experiences in European Adult Education

Essays on Popular and Higher Education since 1890

Edited by
Stuart Marriott
Barry J. Hake

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Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults, Number 3

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LEEDS STUDIES IN CONTINUING EDUCATION

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Preface

The chapters which make up this third volume of the series 'Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults' began life as papers presented to the annual meeting of a European research seminar, held at Wolfgangsee, Austria, in September 1993. With the benefit of criticism and discussion generated at that meeting, the authors were able subsequently to reconsider their contributions, and the revised versions have been uniformly edited for publication in this volume.

The constitution and working methods of the research seminar have been described in two earlier collections in the series: Martha Friedenthal-Haase, Barry J. Hake and Stuart Marriott (eds), *British–Dutch–German Relationships in Adult Education 1880–1930* (1991), and Hake and Marriott (eds), *Adult Education between Cultures* (1992). The programme of annual seminars is a regular item in the calendar of scholarly events in adult education, and is closely associated with the work of ESREA, the European Society for Research in the Education of Adults. The meeting scheduled for 1994 has taken place, in Salamanca, and further meetings are already planned for 1995 and 1996.

The organizers and members of the 1993 seminar are indebted above all to the Austrian Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Abteilung Erwachsenenbildung (Ministry for Education and the Arts, Adult Education Section) for generous provision of accommodation and facilities at its residential conference centre, the Bundesinstitut für Erwachsenenbildung, St Wolfgang. Acknowledgement is also due to the British Council, Vienna, which gave assistance towards the travel expenses of British participants.

The Fund for Publications in Continuing Education, University of Leeds, has once again provided financial support for publication of the Editors' selection of papers from the seminar.

J. S. M., University of Leeds
September 1994 *B. J. H., University of Leiden*

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Introduction

Stuart Marriott and Barry J. Hake

This, the third volume in the series 'Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults', arises like its predecessors from the work of a seminar set up to bring together active researchers from different parts of Europe. The group, now entering its fourth year of activity, is made up of invited specialists and has so far included contributors from a total of ten Nordic, Central and Western European countries. The working methods of the seminar have been described in previous volumes of the series, and nothing needs to be added here except that the 1993 meeting and the papers collected and edited below serve to confirm the project's essential historical focus, and concern with bringing resources of intercultural and cross-cultural study to bear on adult education in Europe as it has taken shape over the last hundred years.

The present volume includes three variant approaches to developing this distinctive subject matter—the intercultural, the comparative and the situated case-study. Approximately half the contributions are 'intercultural' in the strict sense which inspired the original programme of the seminar. That is to say, they focus on the migration of ideas, practices and individuals between one cultural milieu and another, and seek to trace the consequences. The chapters by Coles, Field, van Gent, Marriott, and Steele fall into this category; the one by Titmus is concerned with a special aspect, the emergence from 1949 of formalized, international structures to mediate (and control) such relations. Hake adds a deliberately broader view, a conspectus of the problems and possibilities of a theoretically-informed approach to the study of intercultural transactions; from that angle he also considers some basic problems of comparative study in adult education.

Seitter's chapter is more recognizably comparative, but not simplistically so. It rises above the 'compare and contrast' approach to examples merely lifted from two different settings, and demonstrates an engagement with structural complexity so important to a genuinely comparative analysis of historical situations and trends in adult education.

A third approach is represented for the first time in this collection: it is reflected in a number of 'one-country' historical case studies from contrasting areas of Central and Western Europe. De Vroom and Schärer respectively examine attempts to develop popular education in the form of 'university extension' in two rather different settings, The Netherlands and the City of Geneva. Given that the seminar's third meeting was held in Austria, it is fitting that another three chapters, by Bisovsky, Dvořák and Stifter, should deal with the evolution of popular and adult education under the social and political circumstances of the late Habsburg Monarchy and the First and Second Republics. A more easterly venue was chosen for the 1993 meeting partly as a response to the reappearance of 'Central Europe'; appropriately, one consequence of new geo-political alignments is that two of the papers presented to the seminar and collected here deal with the special experience of societies which have only in recent years emerged from the ideological shadow of 'people's democracy' Eastern European style. Jug and Stelmaszuk write respectively about popular education in Slovenia and Poland after the First World War, and both are concerned to recover historical situations once rendered virtually invisible by the waves of intellectual orthodoxy which affected their countries from the late 1940s into the late 1980s.

The chapters in this third group may be based on single case studies, but they contribute unmistakably to the project of 'cross-cultural' investigation. De Vroom's and Schärer's chapters deal directly with instances of intended cultural borrowing, and in the accounts given there one cannot but become aware of questions of 'reception' and attempts at 'naturalization' of ideas filtering in from other countries. Stelmaszuk's presentation of the practices and institutions of social pedagogy in inter-war Poland achieves part of its force by locating the subject on a stage of international—and internationalist—contact and dialogue. The intercultural dimension of Jug's concern with Slovene national identity is indicated by his attention as an educationist to the 'diglotic' consequences of Habsburg overlordship, and the problems of building a single state for the South Slavs after the demise of Austria-Hungary. The three Austrian contributions, whilst not seeking to generalize beyond their special topics, are all theoretically alert in comparable fashion: they explore the tensions resulting, within a nominally unitary nation and culture, from the opposition of intellectual orthodoxy and heterodoxy, and from the political compartmentalization associated with the 'laager mentality' of antagonistic social groups. They also point to the broader explanatory potential of studying the ways in which adult education has been co-opted in different situations to become part of the process of social management.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that this volume should recurrently hit up against problems of historical reconstruction, or perhaps it would be better to say 'recovery'. The task is not so much a matter of recovering the truth (*wie es eigentlich gewesen!*) as of restoring the often uncomfortable and inconvenient aspects of the past, and therefore the complexity and ambiguity which prevailing accounts and traditions are usually happy to ignore or obscure. One example: Dvořák points out that the problem of accounting for Austrian adult education in the earlier part of the twentieth century derives from the problem of reconstructing Austrian intellectual history more generally. Underlying his essay is a sense that the so-called Golden Age of Viennese intellectual life was a myth, deriving from the success of 'Habsburg propaganda', and gilding a much less comforting reality of intellectual authoritarianism and exclusion.

Stifter's work proceeds from a perception that research on the Austrian *Volkshochschul*-movement has been done predominantly 'from the inside outwards', and that only recently has historical work begun to shake free from the attractions of self-justification and hagiography. Even so, the situation of the historian remains rather ambiguous. The small amount of work on adult education is pursued in institutes which, although linked to the universities, stand outside the formal academic system. In Austria the history of adult education is also written against a background of deeply conservative practice; so, to the extent that it strives to be independent and critical, it finds itself posing new possibilities of identity within the field.

The issue of identity is not far beneath the surface of the two contributions from former Socialist countries. They are both adventures in the recovery of suppressed histories, and neither can be understood without taking account of the upheavals which have affected their countries of origin over recent years. Stelmaszuk documents an epoch of adult/social pedagogy from the Poland of the 1920s and 1930s, along with people and patterns of ideas which were literally and metaphorically 'retired' after the Second

World War. Jug chronicles adult education in the 'Slovenia' of the inter-war period, a place which had no effective constitutional existence at that time. These two chapters in fact offer a double perspective, issues of national identity being evident in both their historiographic style and their subject matter. The adult education activities of the 1920s which they describe were in a sense ventures in 'nation building': in a Poland only recently freed from repressive partition by its powerful neighbours; and in a Slovenia conscious of cultural identity, but still caught up in the politics of subordination.

A suggestion has emerged during the evolution of this volume that 'national crisis' has in a number of cases acted as a spur to the emergence of highly institutionalized forms of adult education. Seitter, for instance, gives this idea an important place in his account of developments in northern Spain around the beginning of the twentieth century. A related argument is that the promotion of popular literacy has served to align 'the people' with a bourgeois conception of education and cultural identity, which in turn has contributed powerfully to nation-state formation. One notes here the centrality of language. Jug's treatment of the claims of Slovene closely parallels van Damme's study in an earlier volume, *Adult Education between Cultures*, of 'flamingant' aspirations among Dutch-speaking Belgians from the 1890s onwards. In both cases cultural self-assertion was indistinguishable from the demand that a so-called vernacular should be recognized as a fit language for modern, scientific discourse.

Steele's work, as in earlier volumes, offers a provocative variant on these ideas. Here it explores relations between the metropolitan and provincial, centre and periphery, in an imperial setting where the English language was inextricably part of the processes of domination and 'modernization' vis-à-vis exotic cultures. One strange consequence, he argues, was that the need to enculture Indian intellectuals within the English language and British conceptions of education contributed to the recognition by the Imperial power of 'English Studies' as an informing force in its own spiritual development. This point of view cautions against simplistic formulae of 'adult education and nation-building', and against taken-for-granted ideas of the 'nation'. Furthermore, in this context, 'Europe' appears sometimes not as a geographical or quasi-political entity, but as a global presence.

A collection of chapters as published here inevitably presents a succession of perspectives. Some of the authors embrace a multidimensional, structural kind of analysis which seeks to move discussion beyond the simplistic search for influences. The latter, identified by Hake as a general temptation to produce ‘unilinear’ narratives, is rejected for its tendency to generate a virtually fictionalized trace of the careers of ‘significant personalities’ and of the ‘institutions’ they created. But in other chapters one becomes aware that a great deal continues to be worth saying which is necessarily located in particular organizations and individuals.

In a figurative sense, agencies and associations pursue their own careers. A normal reaction of the seminar has been one of suspicion towards ‘institutional’ narrative, because of its association with unduly celebratory and apologetic modes of history-writing. Yet, as contributors acknowledge, there is an important place for institutional narrative of the right kind. Thus de Vroom examines the fate of an innovation in adult education in terms of what one might call the ‘careerism’ of the organizations involved. She identifies the self-protective adaptations which Dutch universities made in response to external pressure to ‘socialize’ themselves, and she relates these to the attitudes adopted by the academic community to demands for popular education in the form of ‘university extension’. Stifter presents the famous ‘neutrality’ of the Austrian *Volkshochschulen* as a strategy of conflict-reduction, to be understood as institutional self-protection as much as an philosophical or educational ideal. Sectional defensiveness is oppressively obvious in Bisovsky’s account of attempts in Austria to superimpose an overall, national sense of direction on the work of the voluntary associations through which general adult education has traditionally been provided.

A link between ‘institutions’ and the ‘individuals’ engaged in their work is pedagogy. In earlier contributions to this series, curriculum and teaching-learning have begun to emerge as useful (and hitherto neglected) categories of historical analysis. In *Adult Education between Cultures* (1992) Field and Hake both appealed to an idea of the ‘pedagogy of labour’ to illuminate the internal routines of the work-camps which various countries used during the economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s in order to recondition the unemployed and salve bruised national identity. Chase’s chapter examined the curricular triad of work–education–recreation, on which the most interesting Anglo-German ‘youth’ contacts of the inter-war years was based.

In this volume pedagogy reappears as a potentially important focus of cross-cultural and comparative study in adult education, though still in rather allusive fashion and with too little attention to theoretical explicitness. Marriott's chapter charts the comparisons between the 'university tutorial class' and the 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft' which served to focus interactions between German and English adult educators in the 1920s. Shortly before the First World War the image and language of adult education in England were transformed by the innovations of the Workers' Educational Association and its supporters in the universities; immediately after the war the *Neue Richtung* became a crucial (if ambiguous) influence in German and Austrian adult education. It is clear that 'battles of the tendencies' in the two countries were to a degree pedagogical confrontations; but to treat them in terms of mere 'classroom method' is to miss much of their significance. Those involved at the time amply appreciated that approaches to teaching were culturally and politically 'embedded', and were contentious precisely because they represented a real-world striving towards political, ethical and interpersonal ideals. A valuable direction for future research in our field would be the closer investigation of these 'micro-cultural' dimensions of what are usually and more grandly referred to as 'educational movements'.

The reference to 'mere classroom method' in the previous paragraph is not intended to dismiss from consideration the practical pursuit of teaching adults. When placed before their primary audience, adult educators engage in a performance which is idiosyncratic and at the same time socially defined. Coles's chapter, on a great original of the Anglo-American university extension period, Richard Moulton, is prosopography (and none the worse for that) but it also provokes questions which go beyond individual character and unpredictable talent. The large-scale lectures of the university extension movement were semi-ritualized performances, 'a continuation of theology by other means', as one contributor to the discussion has suggested. What would be the consequence of treating the teaching methods involved as a 'labour process', and the so-called charisma of the great lecturers as a 'style' or 'idiom', difficult to follow, but socially programmed none the less? These are not intellectually negligible or improper topics: the challenge is to discover a theoretical articulation between the contingencies of particular lives and the social settings in which they were lived.

This is the point at which one begins to view adult education as socially negotiated practice and performance; teaching, learning and membership as participation in a symbolic environment. In this perspective adult education begins to look like engagement in symbolic labour, the shared construction of meanings, as much as the pursuit of externally located objectives. To anyone who takes, for example, a critical biographical approach to the history of adult education this way of looking at the matter is likely to appear more and more significant. Unfortunately, a theoretically elaborated approach to historical-comparative topics in such terms is virtually unknown. (It could be noted in passing how unfortunate it is that in the history of adult education—a field obsessed with directions and stances—the methods of 'symbolic interactionism' and the related perspective of 'dramatism' should have remained entirely unknown.)

Some modern writers on adult education have done better justice to symbol and meaning in the sense of culture as an arena of action, particularly because critical sociology, structuralism, Gramscian theory and the like have given a more subtle and flexible habit to radical analysis. But again historical applications are lacking. In *Adult Education between Cultures* Glastra and Kats indicated a possible theoretical route through the maze, via communication and cultural analysis, and study of the process of 'argumentation' by which meanings are mutually hammered out in a given social setting; they did not write as historians or with specifically historical reference however. In the present volume there are two obvious moves in the right direction. Steele applies a critical-literary sensibility and mode of analysis to his historical subject of 'English Studies' and the belated recognition of the national literature as a component in English education. Stifter's study of the Vienna *Volkshochschulen* of the early twentieth century deals in part with the cultivation of images, a form of symbolic labour, in the encounter between 'popular education' and the 'public'. And so discussion finds itself heading back by a roundabout route to the topic of institutional careers!

There is a special sense in which popular education has, historically, been implicated in the making of careers, and that is where the protagonist was neither a person nor an organization, but rather an academic subject or system of ideas. Central to this process has been the creation of an alternative medium and listnership for material inaudible or unwelcome to academic and educational orthodoxy of the day. This is the 'audience function' of adult education; through it individual intellectual careers have been furthered, and sometimes novel collective scientific alignments established.

Historians of the English movement have noted its complicity in intellectual innovation at successive points from the 1880s and the 1950s. Steele's chapter in this volume confirms one significant example, and Coles' chapter likewise touches on the contribution of one particularly dynamic individual to that same emergence of English Literature as a recognizable academic subject. Schärer refers to innovative aspects of the Geneva university extension movement. Dvořák displays a remarkable instance from early twentieth-century Vienna, where the rift between the orthodox university and progressive intelligence—even in areas of 'hard science'—was dramatic, and where adult education performed an *avant-garde* function. It offered a proving-ground in which new ideas could be explored and taught in quite sophisticated ways; equally notable in this Central European example was the fact that intellectual innovators might choose to issue their work through 'popular' outlets associated with adult education, rather then through the apparently more prestigious conventional academic channels.

Another approach to these very interesting patterns of social-intellectual action is signalled by Seitter's investigations of adult education in Frankfurt am Main at the end of the nineteenth century: it makes use of concepts of 'access' and 'public space'. Popular education in Frankfurt was more than lecturers and audiences: as a total activity it amounted to a field of free and sometimes innovative social practice; it was a cluster of civic involvements in which (despite national doctrinal alignments) the Social Democrats felt able to take part. A comparable role was played at that same period by the Viennese cult of 'neutrality' in popular education: it was a response to a repressive political system, an evasion of social conflict, but at the same time it helped create a free zone along the dividing line of bourgeois and left-wing politics where progressive ideas could gain a respectable hearing.

There is no single satisfactory way of describing the intersection of adult education with the conventional political process of the time and place in which it finds itself. Other interpretations, offered in chapters here and in the discussions through which they were elaborated are markedly sceptical, emphasizing not the innovative potential but the dependent position into which adult education is usually relegated—or which it opportunistically embraces. Seitter's chapter captures something of the associated ambiguity: adult education as free social space, but also adaptation to the managed local state; and as *ersatz* politics, in a situation where radical political mobilization was not a respectable possibility.

Bisovsky hints at something comparable in the reconstruction of the Austrian system after the Second World War: lurking in his presentation is the argument that, in the absence of any compelling vision of change, adult education simply aligned itself with the 'management' of stability in a polity of neo-corporatism used to control a doctrinally divided society. A similar idea emerges from van Gent's account of the fate of 'andragogy' and 'social pedagogy' in The Netherlands. The strange marriage of adult education and social work was announced with full official approval in the 1960s as the Dutch welfare state approached its apogee. It was an example of the managed pluralism which emerged when it seemed that the task of social integration (in another doctrinally divided society) could be performed through bureaucratized, professionalized supervision. Since then the relationship has gone sour as public policy has shifted in a rather different direction.

To assert that there is no one satisfactory way of describing adult education's socio-political function is a truism—and because it is a truism it fails to eliminate the hard historical questions which provoked it in the first place. For several contributors to this volume the important issues clearly cluster around a dichotomy of control and liberation. In what respects has adult education been recruited to serve the ends of the state and the need for cultural policing of the unruly populace, and to what extent has it seized the opportunity to express their liberatory aspirations? In some of the countries represented among the authorship of the chapters which follow, that may seem, in the mid 1990s, a rather faded and old-fashioned way of stating the matter. Nevertheless, to provoke increasingly perceptive and evidentially-warranted answers to questions of that kind remains a central task for a research seminar dedicated to the history of European adult education in its cross-cultural aspects.

2

Formative Periods in the History of Adult Education: The role of social and cultural movements in cross-cultural communication

Barry J. Hake
University of Leiden

> The materialist doctrine concerning the changing of circumstances and education forgets that circumstances are changed by men and that the educator must himself be educated. [...] The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity or self-changing can only be grasped and rationally understood as revolutionary practice.
>
> Karl Marx (1846)

Introduction

The phenomenon of cross-cultural communication, or, put more simply, cultural borrowing, between nations, societies and cultures has long enjoyed a significant place in the literature of historical and comparative education. From the early reports of individual travellers, to the policy-inspired studies on behalf of national governments and international organizations, the interests of comparative (adult) educators have long been dominated by the very pragmatic orientation of learning from others.[1] A commitment to cultural borrowing is still regarded by some contemporary authors as the *sine qua non* of comparative (adult) education.[2] Others have suggested, however, that the historical processes of the cross-cultural borrowing of ideas, institutions and practices are in themselves legitimate objects for rigorous research by historians and social scientists.[3] This latter approach provides the motive for those involved in the European research network on cross-cultural influences in the historical development of the education of adults in

Europe.[4] The network had its origins in close co-operation between British, Dutch and German researchers who shared a common interest in the dissemination, reception and adoption of university extension in the period 1890–1930. The expansion of the network has involved the opening up of new areas of research interests within the same historical period to include cross-cultural influences in the development of residential adult education, colonies and labour camps, and workers' education.[5] Other forms of adult education in this period which are also of potential interest to cross-cultural research include the expansion of popular and public libraries, university 'settlements' and popular universities.[6] The quantity of research and publications about the history of adult educational institutions and practices in the period 1890–1930 suggests that this was an important innovative period in the development of adult education in most European countries. There is much evidence that this particular period was also characterized by a significant degree of cross-cultural borrowing in Europe.

As the published work of those involved in the network clearly demonstrates,[7] there are, however, significant problems to be overcome in terms of the modes of research, description, analysis and interpretation of the dynamics of these historical processes of innovation in relationship with cross-cultural communication.[8] This paper is intended as an exploration of some of the major theoretical, methodological and substantive issues which have been addressed, directly and indirectly, by the research network during the last three years. One of the major problems for the historian is the question of periodization, or the question of why historical narratives are constructed within specific periods. This requires the historian of adult education to engage in reflection about the designation of specific periods, for example the period 1890–1930, as significant periods in the development of adult education. To this end, the first section of this paper will direct attention to the notion of 'formative periods' in the historical development of adult education. The second section is a critical assessment of the 'case study' approach to the historical study of innovations and cultural borrowing in adult education in specific formative periods. In section three, it is argued that social movements can provide a useful unit of analysis for the study of cross-cultural communication in formative periods. This section comprises a review of the Dutch literature with regard to the role of social movements in cross-cultural communication with particular reference to the period 1890–1930. Special reference is made to the substantive historical research by the Dutch participants in this European network. The fourth section is an attempt to bring together the disparate theoretical perspectives on historical research with regard to cross-cultural communication which have informed the diverse contributions of the Dutch participants in the network. These perspectives may not be shared by all the members of the research network. They may provide, however, a fruitful basis for a more critical analysis and interpretation of the complex social relations which have characterized the historically specific areas of coalition and conflict in the areas of struggle which have provided the social context of the development of institutions and practices in the field of adult education.

Formative periods in the history of adult education

The literature on the development of adult educational institutions and practices in different countries is remarkable for the consistency with which the narrative is unfolded in terms of the prominence of specific historical periods. One soon becomes aware that the history of the development of adult education is explained in terms of a number of key periods of vigorous activity, which were interspersed with periods with a low conjuncture in innovative activities. This is also true of The Netherlands, which I shall use here by way of an example. An examination of the historical literature on Dutch adult education identifies four major periods in the development of institutions and practices with an educational intent for adults.[9]

The first of these periods was associated with the Protestant Reformation during the sixteenth century. A stimulus for the development of educational activities in this period was the development of printing, the translation of the Bible into the vernacular and the achievement of high levels of literacy. A reading public emerged among the educated middle classes which gave rise to a significant demand for books, the development of new literary forms such as devotional books, books of 'manners', encyclopaedias of knowledge, and new forms for their distribution through colporteurs, booksellers, parish and circulating libraries, and bible-reading groups and reading circles.

The second half of the eighteenth century is generally regarded as having constituted a second important period in the development of organized adult education in The Netherlands. The general historical surveys provide evidence of the existence of a wide range of institutions and practices associated with the education of adults. There are frequent references to the activities of societies, associations and clubs established for the purposes of advancing and diffusing knowledge, encouraging the rational improvement of commerce, manufactures and agriculture, the stimulation of literature, poetry and drama, and the organization of lectures and scientific demonstrations. Evidence of an active publishing trade and the further growth and diversification of the reading public is found in references to the periodical press, newspapers and the growth of a political press. Much attention is also devoted to organizations which sought to organize adult education for the lower orders in the form of lending libraries and the dissemination of improving literature.[10]

The period between 1890 and 1930 has been frequently designated in the literature as the third, and most important period, in the history of adult education in The Netherlands.[11] This argument is justified, furthermore, by the number of monographs and articles which relate to the social organization of adult education. While the history of Dutch adult education is poorly served by such publications reporting original research, the period between 1890 and the 1920s stands out as a period which has been the subject of considerable research. Major studies have examined the development of adult education in the women's, socialist and trade union movements;[12] while others have examined the role of philanthropic and humanitarian movements in the development of university settlements in the form of folk houses;[13] the folk universities, public libraries, and folk high schools.[14]

Moving closer towards the present day, it can be argued that the period since 1970 can be identified as a fourth period of vigorous activity which has significantly reshaped the organization of adult educational institutions and practices. Building upon the student movement in the late 1960s, this period was at first primarily characterized by educational innovations initiated by the so-called 'new social movements' associated with women's and gay rights, the peace and environmental movements, grassroots church groups and community groups. In the longer term, the period was marked by an active response by the Dutch government to such initiatives and the subsequent institutionalization of adult basic education, evening and day schools for adults, and a major reorganization of vocational educational and training.

I have referred elsewhere to these key periods of high levels of activity as the 'formative periods' in the development of adult educational institutions and practices in The Netherlands.[15] When we examine the available empirical indices of activity, these four 'formative' periods were characterized by a number of common features. Each period was marked, first, by high rates of innovative activity which were accompanied by the development of new institutions and practices. Secondly, each of these periods witnessed a significant expansion in the numbers of adults involved in organized learning activities. Each period involved, thirdly, the opening up of participation in organized learning to new social groups. Fourthly, all four periods were characterized by the high level of interest in developments which were taking place in other countries. This was expressed in the large number of reports of visits, translations of foreign texts and indigenous publications. Last but not least, each period was significant in the degree to which innovations were attributed to exemplars elsewhere, in other words, there was a high degree of self-conscious cultural borrowing.

An important aspect of the historical study of formative periods of adult education in any particular country is the construction of a lineage for the growth of particular forms of adult education. The story is often one of institutional success and survival of particular innovations, or, in Johnson's terms 'a thin unilinear narrative of the development of some set of institutions or practices'.[16] There are three main varieties of such unilinear narratives. First, the story may be organized around significant individuals who are seen as the great innovators and reformers in adult education. Secondly, it may trace the emergence and development of institutions and practices in the form of institutional history at local and national level. Thirdly, the narrative may be constructed around the development of philanthropic endeavours, public policy-making, legislation and subsidies for the provision of adult education. Such sets of institutions and practices are often regarded as those forms of adult education which constitute the specific 'national' tradition of adult educational forms in different countries. The accepted history of Danish adult education in the nineteenth century, for example, is the history of the folk high school, and is very often a celebration of both Grundtvig and Danish 'national character'.[17]

For the early comparative educators, from Sadler, the travelling policy adviser to the British government,[18] through Mallison, Hans, Kandel to Urich, understanding of distinct national traditions often took the form of explaining these 'national' traditions of adult education in terms of national psychology.[19] Tradition was located in a search for national character which suggested patterns of characteristic 'national' behaviour, or in the words of Mallison 'forces of cultural continuity which determine the behaviour of a nation as a whole'.[20] As Marriott and Coles have pointed out most cogently, however, it is quite legitimate to analyse the understandings of different national characteristics, as these were formulated by contemporary historical actors in order to argue the case for and against the potential success of cultural borrowing.[21] In other words, historically specific formulations of 'national character' have to be explained rather than being considered as providing explanations.

More recent contributions to the comparative education literature have rejected the spurious notion of national characteristics as holding any explanatory value for the historical development of adult education. The major problem with this approach was that it ignored what Williams refers to as the 'selective tradition' in the construction of received histories of adult education traditions.[22] In other words, the accumulative approach, or to use another idiom 'the natural history' of national educational traditions, was often manipulative of the historical record, whether consciously or otherwise, to exclude the institutionally unremembered, the inconvenient and the embarrassing. Historically speaking, however, the process of innovation, the building of new ideas, new institutions and practices can no longer be respectably construed as the unmediated product of 'national character'. Men live in a society not of their own making but which they seek to change. They live surrounded by a vast accumulation of social institutions and practices, they choose selectively from these, and they adapt them to their own novel purposes in order to meet the objectives they wish to achieve. The human agency involved in the social processes of the 'making' of adult education can be best understood in terms of organized efforts to come to terms with the experience of social conditions and 'the ways in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in traditions, value-systems, ideas and institutional forms'.[23] This process of selective borrowing from the past, let alone from other countries, and the selective construction of adult education traditions is that which can be studied by the historian. But these selective processes also have to be placed within the specific historical experience of a country and interpreted in terms of the social relationships within any specific formative period.

The case study as method: some reservations

The construction of the history of adult education in formative periods in terms of the institutional success and failure of specific forms of adult education is usually undertaken on the basis of case studies.[24] Case studies of aspects of the development of university extension are good examples of this approach to historical work. Local, regional and national case studies contribute the essential building blocks for the construction of the unilinear narrative of national versions of university extension. From a methodological point of view, this raises major questions of aims, theory, definitions and method. In other words, whatever the unit of analysis, the case study is concerned with the single instance in a specific geographical location, particular time and social circumstance.[25] Such historical case studies encounter the problem that they will remain little more than a form of descriptive illustration which is weak in explanatory power. Case studies tend to add yet further building blocks of discrete instances which assist in the construction of the ancestries of institutions and practices. They also have a tendency to abstract some thin stream of historical events from their wider historical context and do not really succeed in providing satisfactory explanations. Can case studies be taken as representative, typical or illustrative of some larger constituency of historical reality? This becomes even more problematic when we engage in the cross-cultural analysis of case studies.

One also has to question the role of the case study in terms of its relationship to the 'common sense' description of the received tradition of adult education in the national literatures. This addresses the tension between what is already known and what is still to be found out. This is the real stuff of analytical history: whether we reject the tendency to add yet another narrative or to introduce revised data, and choose instead to approach the case study, and in particular the unexpected, in order to create more complex and satisfactory explanations. Of course historians come upon the unexpected, find extensions and exceptions which help them move beyond the more straightforward and taken for granted explanations. The consciously critical and reflective case study can lead us to re-examine the taken-for-granted and the assumed and help us to focus on differing interpretations. As de Vroom quite correctly asks, was the perception of university extension in The Netherlands identical with the actual practice of university extension in Britain?[26] Tiana suggests, for example, that Toynbee Hall was the exemplar of university extension to many Spanish contemporaries,[27] and this appears not to have been an exceptional misunderstanding at the time. And if it what was not the same, de Vroom urges us to examine the processes through which its transformation took place within Dutch society in terms of what was selectively understood, and sometimes misunderstood, to be university extension. Along these lines, de Vroom, for example, questions whether university extension in The Netherlands was after all such a 'failure' as is usually assumed, when we reinterpret the contribution of university extension to the wider debate about the reform of higher and secondary education in The Netherlands.[28] Jug makes a similar point, when he argues that university extension in Slovenia fed the domestic debate about the reform of secondary education opportunities for adults.[29] Such an approach to the historical study of university extension can be the starting point for a renewed process of historical debate, new lines of research; it can lead to new cases and to improved understanding of how university extension was borrowed, reshaped and accommodated within the ongoing discourse in the borrowing country.

There is an acute need to move towards an approach to historical research which challenges the unilinear, accumulative descriptions of the received institutional tradition of 'successful' innovations in adult education, and the introduction of more theoretically informed approaches to the case study as a research method. This has led in the past three decades to various attempts to put the record straight, to bring back into the historical record the contribution of the 'unsuccessful' innovations as de Vroom refers to the failure of university extension in The Netherlands and the restoration of what were termed above the unremembered, the inconvenient and the embarrassing—which were all too often associated with radical and often subversive social groups. As I have pointed out elsewhere, a classic example of the need to rewrite Dutch history is the standard work on Dutch workers' education in the early twentieth century which devotes only one page, of a total of 391, to the extensive educational programme of the Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs.[30]

Interestingly enough, as Johnson points out,[31] these 'missing links' have remained hidden for long periods, and have usually been rediscovered in one 'formative period', for example the 1890s to 1920s, when writing about another such formative period, for example the 1780s to early 1800s, or the influence of the women's movement in the 1970s in recovering the rich educational tradition of the women's movement in the early twentieth century. This critical rewriting of the history of adult education has questioned the case for explanation in terms of historical continuity and has made the forgotten 'sites of struggle' for adult learning, which do not fit neatly into received tradition, a major focus for further research.[12] One can then examine the development of particular periods of innovation, university extension in the period 1870–1920 for example, in terms of the different histories of countries, the stock of past experiences upon which they drew, how they organized themselves, how their active cadre was selected or selected itself, and how support was mobilized. The question then becomes one of whether specific examples related to particular historical contexts in different countries can be fruitfully compared in the hope of securing a greater degree of historical understanding and interpretative power?

This must surely lead us away from institutional case studies into the broader social and cultural history of the period in each country as well as into the into the mediated understandings of 'university extension' by contemporaries in specific and historically bounded social and cultural contexts. Although historical research must devote considerable attention to the detailed study of the aspirations, personalities and activities involved in a wide range of adult educational endeavours in many countries, any reliable account of the development of adult education necessarily leads out to the general history of the period investigated. The historical development of adult education as socially organized activities can only be meaningfully comprehended in terms of their historical articulations with economic, social, political and cultural forces.[13]

Social movements and cross-cultural communication: the case of The Netherlands

The limitations of the interpretative frameworks employed in most case studies contribute to and reinforce the insularity, indeed parochialism, which is evident in much research on the history of adult education. This is not particular to the history of adult education, but is reinforced by the fact that this history often serves a celebratory purpose for the adult education movement: it is part of the legitimation exercise and is implicitly ideological in its purpose. Historical writing on adult education in most countries does not draw on the 'great elsewhere'; it is inward looking and serves domestic, often particularistic, problematics. One only has to look at the current resurgence of interest in the pre-Second World War history of folk high schools in the former Socialist countries to recognize this. Ideological legitimation plays a stronger role here than historical evidence and realities, but it will play a role in the rewriting of the history of adult education in each of these countries and the ongoing reconstruction of the 'national' tradition.

This is where the notion of formative periods in the development of adult education can be of some use in moving us towards a comparative or cross-cultural history of adult education. As the standard histories all too clearly illustrate, it is possible to construct a narrative of the key periods in the historical development of adult education in a specific country. When the narratives from a number of countries are placed side by side, however, there will be differences in the formative periods which can be identified. This will have much to do with the specific history of each nation, differences in economic development, patterns of colonization and war, demographic factors, and so on. But it will also be possible to identify a number of periods which were significant formative periods in more than one country and which might be called referred to as 'transnational formative periods'. In addition to the period of the Protestant Reformation, the literature on the history of adult education suggests, furthermore, that the second half of the eighteenth century was one of the most important formative periods in its development in many European countries. The same can be argued for the period 1890–1930, where attention, in the standard histories, is largely focused upon the development of institutional innovations such as university extension, popular universities, folk high schools and workers' education across Europe. There will here too be a need for much work of recovery to untwist the strands of different contributions to apparently shared or 'common' European traditions, such as university extension, and the specific experience of each country. Here again we shall have to link the transnational experience shared across cultures with the specific historical context in each nation which shapes national developments. As Tiana asks, was Spain an exception with regard to university extension when the main indigenous stimulus, according to his interpretation, was the final defeat in Cuba of the Spanish Empire and the sense of national crisis?[14] The work of Volkman points, furthermore, to largely unexplored area of the organization of refugees in relation to adult education in their countries of origin the role of the 'diaspora' in cross-cultural communication.[35] The Greek 'diaspora' is another example of this phenomenon. As Boucouvalas points out, the continued Turkish occupation of Greece in the early nineteenth century meant that 'underground adult education' in Greece was fed by the printing presses of the Greek diaspora in Budapest.[36] The organization of the 'diaspora' in itself raises an interesting new theme for cross-cultural research.

In the search for larger interpretative frameworks to enable us to secure understanding of these apparently transnational formative periods, it might be useful to try to identify some common historical factors which were at work in these periods. One of the most striking features of the literature on the history of adult education, for example, is the widespread evidence of the significant contribution made by social, political and cultural movements to the development of adult education in many countries during these formative periods. It might be instructive, therefore, to undertake a cross-cultural analysis of the historical relationships between social movements and the development of adult education in terms of the broader patterns of economic, social, political and cultural change in each period. Although there are some excellent monographs and standard histories in the English language, in particular those concerned with Britain and the United States, the systematic comparative study of the contribution of social movements to the historical development of adult education is inhibited, however, by the lack of English-language works concerning these phenomena in other countries. Few European countries have been touched by studies in English , although there is some excellent work in the national languages, especially French and German, which is not directly accessible to the international forum of scholars. This research network is currently doing much to deal with this lacuna for the period 1890–1930, and the work produced so far has increasingly identified social movements as important factors in the development of institutional innovations, in particular university extension and residential adult education, in a number of countries.

A brief sojourn in The Netherlands during the period 1890–1930 might suffice to indicate the broader social context within which social movements emerged and exerted their influence upon the making of institutions and practices intended to support learning by adults. The standard general studies of the history of adult education, together with the limited number of detailed research monographs available, support the view of this period as the peak of adult education activism in the country.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, there had been various attempts in The Netherlands to develop forms of adult education in response to the problems of mass pauperization of the population, chronic structural unemployment and the assumed moral degeneration of the lower orders in Dutch society. The distribution of improving tracts, the dissemination of useful knowledge, the encouragement of self-help, and the development of lending libraries were manifestations of the moralistic concerns of middle-class social improvers seeking to generate habits of industry, sobriety and Christian virtue among the poor. Independent adult education for working people began to emerge with the first working-mens' associations in the 1870s, and these attempts at mutual improvement through discussion groups, lending libraries and recreational activities for men were carried on into the educational work of the first trade unions. The rise of working-class political parties following the First International, the Social Democratic Association in 1878, the Social Democratic Union in 1882 and the SDAP in 1894 was accompanied by the first associations of socialist women. In socialist circles the rights of women were not seen as being distinct from those of working-class men, and it was considered that their common interests should be jointly pursued in the class struggle. Such attempts to address working-class women cannot be divorced from the radical mobilizations initiated by socialist organizations and the women's movement in The Netherlands in the period between 1890 and 1925.

The issues central to the working-class campaigns of the time became a focal point for organizing educational activities for adults with a strong political and agitational content. Attempts to organize 'social movement adult education' were closely related to the popular politics of the organized working-class and feminist movements. The educational activities organized within these movements were often alternatives to sponsored forms of adult education provided for the working class in the voluntary work of ecclesiastical, philanthropic and humanitarian agencies. The competition between adult education provided 'by' the organized working-class movement and that organized 'for' the working class by other social agencies has led some authors to designate the period 1890 to 1930 as 'the' formative period in the development of adult education in The Netherlands. This was a period in which the agitational challenge of the organized working-class and women's movements was responded to either by ecclesiastical opposition or the efforts of liberals to resolve the 'social question', although we should not ignore efforts within the Social Democratic party to restrict the activities of women.

When we turn, however, to consider accounts of the role of these social movements in cultural borrowing from other countries during this period, it is interesting to note that Dutch historians of adult education have been highly selective in their recognition of the 'foreign connection'.[37] With regard to this particular period, the general histories of Dutch adult education are replete with references to the influence exerted by the settlement movement, university extension, and public lending libraries in England upon the development of adult educational institutions and practices in The Netherlands.[38] Despite this widespread recognition of the 'influence' of English practice, in particular, upon Dutch adult education during this period, it should not be concluded that the historical processes of cultural borrowing have been explored in any great depth. This cannot be taken to mean that there was little or no cross-cultural borrowing undertaken by the working-class and women's movements. In so far as workers' education is concerned, a strong case can be made for the predominance of German institutions and practices during this period. One only has to think of the stream of visits to Germany and Belgium by Dutch social-democratic activists and the translations of foreign works into Dutch for the workers' book clubs. The 1924 Report on Workers' Education contained a comparative review of the organization of adult education in different countries. It has simply not been the object of detailed investigation by historians of Dutch adult education.

There remain, therefore, many loose wires in the circuits of cross-cultural communication which demand investigation. This points to perhaps one of the major problems in the general historical works on Dutch adult education for any period. Religious movements, whether conservative or radical, and their contribution to the organization of educational activities for adults, for example, have been largely ignored in studies of the development of adult education in The Netherlands. They have been largely relegated to the realms of ecclesiastical history and sectarian historiography. Whereas there is an extensive literature dealing with the contribution of evangelical movements, and Methodism in particular, to the development of adult education in other countries, there is a marked absence of such a study for The Netherlands. Neither the role of these conventicles, or Methodist classes, nor their close associations with the Methodist movement in England, is mentioned in the general studies of the history of Dutch adult education. This means that important impulses to the education of adults by have fallen beyond the pale of the received history of adult education in The Netherlands.[39] The selective tradition at work among Dutch historians of adult education thus tends to obscure more than it illuminates.

More recent work undertaken by the Dutch members of this network is gradually providing a clearer picture of some aspects of the role of social movements in the processes of cultural borrowing in the period 1890–1930. Well established lines of research include activities concerned with the diffusion and adoption of the ideas and practices associated with the influence of the settlement movement, university extension and the public library movement in The Netherlands between 1890 and 1920. De Vroom is now well advanced with a doctoral thesis on university extension which is successfully opening up much new evidence and revised understandings. The extension of these research activities moves in the direction of the franchise movements and the Christian Socialists. It is now clear that those actively engaged in the diffusion and adoption of new ideas and practices in The Netherlands were closely aligned with liberal reform movements to extend the franchise to the 'respectable' working man. These radical liberals sought to resolve the 'social question' by making use of adult education, including university extension, to promote social harmony rather than class struggle, and were willing to co-operate with the developing workers' organizations. Many of the activists were latitudinarian Protestants, sharing a long-standing tradition of cultural radicalism and social reform in The Netherlands, while many were active Christian Socialists. The opinion-leaders expressed their ideas in the *Sociaal Weekblad* ('Social Weekly') which devoted considerable space in its columns to social developments and innovations abroad, particularly England, in the fields of housing and working conditions, the co-operative movement, the franchise question, and adult education. They visited Toynbee Hall, investigated university extension at work, and translated numerous English-language publications by Christian Socialists and Fabians. As van Gent has shown,[40] Ruskin and

Morris formed a significant source of intellectual stimulation in The Netherlands, and, as Hake and co-writers have argued this was in particular the case among the Christian Socialists.[41]

Research is gradually extending the boundaries of our knowledge of the links between adult education activists with the franchise movements, in both their male and feminist manifestations, and the particular contribution of Christian Socialists to adult education. The latter directs attention to the specific influence of Woodbrooke, the Quaker residential adult education college near Birmingham, and the establishment by Dutch Christian Socialists of the Woodbrookers' Movement, and the origins of residential adult education in The Netherlands in the 1920s.[42] Recent research also reaches into the women's movement and the development of residential adult education. Although long ignored among historians of the organized working-class movement, the Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs has provided one of the routes of entry to the study of educational agitational activities associated with the women's rights and social democratic politics in The Netherlands during the early twentieth century. The work of Hake and his co-authors sheds much new light on the adult educational activities of the Union of Social Democratic Women's Clubs between 1905 and 1925. Both has concentrated her research on the development of residential education with the Union of Social Democratic Clubs and the establishment of their residential centre *De Born* in 1934.[43]

The history of residential education in The Netherlands has become a subject for critical research and reassessment. When residential adult education is defined in terms of the work of Folk High Schools, this might lead the historian of residential adult education in The Netherlands to examine the influence of the Scandinavian folk high schools. But, as Both and Hake have clearly demonstrated,[44] such an account does not do justice to the historical development of residential adult education in The Netherlands. The earliest reports of folk high schools in Scandinavia can be located in the Dutch literature in the mid 1920s. By this time, however, there was already a well established tradition of residential adult education in The Netherlands. Recent research has contributed to the deepening of our knowledge about the different strands in the development of this tradition of residential adult education, especially the cross-cultural dimensions, from the early 1900s to the late 1930s.[45]

There is also some evidence of an English link between the Workers' Educational Association and the more progressive Popular Universities in The Netherlands. Albert Mansbridge visited The Netherlands, and his talks in Rotterdam, which were focused upon the tutorial method, were published in *Volksontwikkeling* ('Popular Education'), the major adult education journal in The Netherlands during the early twentieth century. This journal, together with the *Sociaal Weekblad* of the 1890s,[46] provide excellent subjects for future research into the diffusion and adoption of innovations in other countries, while the newspapers of the workers' and women's movements provide equally suitable topics for research. The same can be said of national conferences, such as the unremembered first Dutch national conference on adult education in 1926, and the participation of the Dutch in the World Association for Adult Education during the 1920s and 1930s.

Theoretical notes on research into cross-cultural communication

The processes of cultural export and import of ideas, institutions and practices between societies cannot be studied in isolation from the social relations between and within societies. This understanding has informed those studies which examine the social relations of cross-cultural communication. Such studies suggest that cultural export has been historically a question of the relative political, economic and cultural dominance or dependence in the relationships between nations. They indicate, moreover, the historical role of international or transnational cultural movements in the process of cross-cultural diffusion in the field of adult education.

Recent studies of the social relations of cultural borrowing have led, furthermore, to the recognition that the adoption of innovations is a highly selective and socially structured process within societies. Cultural importing is sometimes undertaken by a dominant social group, while at other times it may be carried out by an alternative or oppositional social movement or group. This suggests the need to examine the historical specificity of the connections between modes of selective import and the strictly internal social relations of dominance and dependence within the adoptive society.[47]

These observations with regard to theories of cross-cultural diffusion and adoption direct attention to the social relations of cultural borrowing in terms of the social organization of the processes of cultural exporting and importing in the field of adult education. The term 'social organization' is used here to refer to the extensive and complex range of social institutions, movements and groups which may be involved in historically specific processes of cultural exporting and importing. Only some of these institutions, movements and groups will be recognized directly as 'adult education', while others will be primarily embedded in the economic, political or religious dimensions of social life. This means that no account of cultural borrowing in adult education can be provided without extending description and analysis into the general historical development of the social relationships both between and within societies.[48] My own theoretical perspective is to a great extent based upon an understanding of the social organization of social movements and cultural formations as developed and applied by Williams.[49] When attention is devoted to the specific contribution of social movements and cultural formations to cross-cultural borrowing and the historical development of adult education in a particular country, there are at least six major questions involved in studies of historically specific instances of cross-cultural borrowing in adult education.

In the first place, it is necessary to identify the specific social and cultural movements actively involved in the cross-cultural borrowing of ideas and practices. These can be educational reform movements which are concerned with the provision of adult education for the general improvement of society or some specific section of the adult population. They may be economic, political or religious movements which seek some measure of social reform and which organize educational activities to these ends. Furthermore, they may be radical, even revolutionary, movements which regard the organization of adult education as an essential element in the struggles of social groups for economic, political, social, and religious emancipation. It is obviously easier to offer description of relatively established movements in the field of adult education, the university extension movement for example. It is also necessary, however, to direct attention to the relatively informal cultural movements and associations, often small in numbers and sometimes of relatively short duration, which were characterized by the rapidity of their formation and dissolution, together with the complexity of their internal links and fusions to other institutions and social groups in society.

Secondly, we must also undertake analysis of the relationships between the specific movements and groups involved in the development of adult educational institutions and practices and the diverse range of social institutions, movements and groups in society at large. The movements and groups associated with the diffusion and adoption of significant innovations in the organization of adult education have often enjoyed historically specific relations to more general programmes of social and political change. These have not always been brought to the surface in the general histories of adult education and their accounts of cultural borrowing. Adult education 'movements' have historically formed around more general social, political and cultural programmes of reform, even radical change through revolution. These external relations concern 'the proposed or actual relations of a cultural formation to other organizations in the same field and to society more generally'.[50] One way of analysing these relationships is offered by the distinction made by Williams between three types of social and cultural formations in society. He refers, first, to 'specialized' movements which were concerned with the development of a particular form of adult education or the dissemination of a specific body of knowledge, which we might recognize in those forms of university extension which sought, for example, to popularize scientific knowledge. Secondly, he identifies the alternative cultural formations which seek to provide alternative forms of adult education for particular social groups when it is believed that existing institutions exclude or tend to exclude them. University extension directed at women, in the absence of university education for them, might be seen as such an alternative movement. Thirdly, Williams refers to oppositional movements in which alternatives may be developed in active opposition to established institutions. The development by Gramsci of the workers' university in Turin, in direct conflict with university extension and popular universities provided for them, might be seen a classic case of this oppositional form.[51] More generally and throughout Europe, however, similar criticisms of the provision of adult education for the working class, whether by radical liberals, reforming philanthropists or the churches, constituted an important part of the organized working-class critique of university extension. Further research needs to examine this critique by the organized working class movement of university extension and to contribute to the deconstruction of the celebration of university extension.

Thirdly, attention must be paid to the complex range of influences, interests and positions prevalent among those involved in social movements. This can provide a basis for the identification of those who play a prominent role in the national and local leadership of social movements and innovative activities. It also becomes possible to locate those groups and individuals who made a specific contribution to the dissemination and adoption of ideas and practices. At the same time we can use this analysis as a basis for the identification of those who played a prominent role in the national and local leadership of cultural formations. It enables us to locate those individuals and groups of 'intellectuals' or 'opinion-leaders' who made a specific contribution to the dissemination, popularization and adoption of ideas and practices. This exercise in identification must be linked to an analysis of the social class basis of 'organic' and 'inorganic' intellectuals. At its most specific, the question as to the position of 'cultural disseminators' is one of the contribution of 'peers, poets, propagandists, priests, pedlers, politicians, performers, publishers, pamphleteers, playwrights, publicans, and practitioners of the plastic arts'.[52] In this, it must be remembered that no social class is culturally monolithic, and the development of alternative and oppositional movements may be based on factions within a social class which are not characteristic of the class as a whole. Social class analysis within one class alone is not enough, analysis must also necessarily extend to the variations in the changing relations between a particular social class and its factions, for example middle-class providers of adult education for the workers, and other classes and their factions, in this case the working class itself.

The location of 'intellectuals' is of importance, fourthly, in terms of exploring the historical specificity of the processes of cultural borrowing by means of identifying their sources of innovative ideas elsewhere. This is less a question of the passive reception or active selection from some body of ideas in intellectual history but more of an active cross-cultural encounter. As has become very clear in the work of Zellhuber-Vogel,[53] travel abroad and visits to the Britain were of vital significance in shaping German understandings of University Extension. Marriott and Coles have undertaking similar work, while Hake and Both have indicated the importance of visits to Scandinavia in forming of Dutch perspectives on the folk high school.[54] Furthermore, as de Vroom and Hake make clear,[55] visits often provided an important source for reports in journals and newspapers and contributed to the mediated understanding of university extension in The Netherlands. Of great importance too are the translations of seminal texts together with the processes of the selection of cultural meanings.

The identification of 'intellectuals' or 'opinion leaders' leads, fifthly, to the analysis of the social relations of the means of communication between the propagators of new ideas and practices and their respective publics. These relationships can be seen as 'the variable patterns of control over and access to the spoken and the written word as cultural resources'.[56] With regard to the internal organization of cultural formations, Williams refers to formations based upon 'formal membership', 'collective public manifestation', or 'conscious association or group identification'.[57] This directs attention to the specific modes of communication by means of books, journals, newspapers, pamphlets, correspondence and meetings. The roles of translators, writers, journalists and lecturers require detailed study. The study of the 'Social Weekly' by de Vroom and Hake, for example,[58] is concerned with the question of the interpretation and representation concerning university extension in The Netherlands and will be followed by an analysis of the serious daily papers and weeklies by de Vroom.

Last but not least, it is of great importance to examine the processes involved in the forming of the 'publics' which were addressed by innovations in institutions and practices. As was suggested above, formative periods in the development of adult education were characterized by the spatial-temporal extension of participation to new social groups, in current terminology known as target groups, users or consumers. This leads to the analysis of the specific positions of 'cultural disseminators' or 'intellectuals' as 'cultural intermediaries'[59] in the social organization of deliberate, systematic and sustained efforts to disseminate and acquire cultural meanings, and their social relations with those they addressed. It is of vital importance, therefore, to also examine the social identity of the participants addressed by those seeking to introduce specific innovations who should be more correctly recognized as 'publics' for organized educational activities. This directs attention, to specific institutions and practices in terms of the degree to which adults have organized themselves, or have been organized by others, for the purpose of learning. This is not merely an analysis of mediated formulations of target groups by innovators, but an analysis of the public as a collective subject in the field of education. As Steele points out with regard to the university extension summer schools in England,[60] this is a question of whether participants in educational practices are the object of interventions by others, or consciously constitute the emergence of an active force in the field of education, and help shape educational institutions and practices. As de Sanctis argues 'The aim would be to see if, and how, and with what differences and variations of emphasis [...] the problems of the newly forming public emerged'.[61] This introduces the historical study of the structural dynamics of the formation of the 'public' in terms of empirical indicators of the connection between the production, distribution and consumption of organized learning. This introduces us to the fascinating notion that the emergence of the workers' movement opened up new possibilities for the reconstitution of the 'proletarian public' as a potential consumer of education, and that university extension, for example, can be considered as a radical-bourgeois response to the possibility that the organized working-class movement could organize itself as a producer rather than as a consumer of adult education. From this point of view, university extension can be more properly be considered as a terrain of social intervention which encouraged no more than a modification of institutionalized bourgeois forms of learning to a proletarian public.[62]

Conclusions

The essence of my argument above has been that our historical explanations of the development of the institutions and practices in the area of the education of adults, and the significance of cross-cultural borrowing within this development, have to be more firmly rooted in social-scientific theories and concepts. Challenging historical work is increasingly informed by the conscious use of ideas from the social sciences and cultural studies. For the history of adult education, we can benefit greatly from the ongoing debate among post-modernist, neo-Marxist and structuration theorists about the relations between historically-specific social structures and the behaviour of social actors in the processes of social production and reproduction. This should not be construed in any manner as a post-modernist argumentation for the deconstruction and consequent marginalization of the reform discourses often used to construct the narratives which have so dominated historical writing about the development of the institutions and practices associated with adult education in most countries. It is intended, however, as a critique of the strong element of 'celebration', the search for genealogies and the construction of lineages in historical narratives on adult educational institutions and practices. There are dangers, however, in looking to the social sciences as sources of inspiration for our interpretative and analytical frameworks. History is no longer history when it becomes no more than post-modernist theory in which texts constitute historical discourses rather than their 'disembodied' authors as historical actors with specific positions within a complex constellation of social forces. On the other hand, history is not history when it provides us with no more than the unreflected, and hence meaningless, unilinear collections of the antiques of the world of adult education in the past.

What I have attempted to discuss is the need to recognize the complexity of the levels at which historical analysis and interpretation can enter our narratives. If the history of adult education is about pioneers and their reputations, it is also about the forgotten and the defeated, even the uncomfortable and inconvenient reminders. If it is about social reformers and provision, it is also about social and cultural movements. If it is about the latter, it is also about ideologies and struggle between social classes and their factions. If it is about ideologies and struggle, it is also about popular expectations and responses. If it is about the latter, it is also about experience and biography. All these aspects have to be provided with a theoretical perspective to achieve understanding and construct our explanations.

This provides a background to formulate the final question. To what extent is it possible, or indeed useful, to write the history of adult education across frontiers? What future is there for a 'comparative social history of adult education'? My main argument was that a cross-cultural perspective may help to relieve us of the parochialism of much of the historical work on adult education in any single country. My critique here was of the narrow range of theoretical and conceptual machinery employed in most case studies and the tendency to fall back into celebratory narratives of national traditions.

The strongest argument for studying cross-cultural influences in the history of adult education in present-day Europe is, however, a normative one. I would argue that a major prerequisite of cross-cultural historical studies is that they offer an exceptionally self-conscious, reflective and critical historiography, which confronts us not only with the past but also with the present. Although I do not support the notion that we can learn from history in order to act differently in the present, I would argue that it is very fruitful to undertake historical study of relationships between countries, encounters and exchanges, understandings and misunderstandings, and learning and borrowing. Cross-cultural studies can contribute to the development of a cross-cultural or 'intercultural orientation' which is characterized by an interest in the 'otherness' of others, but also in what we have shared with them in some way.[63] This might make a contribution, however limited, to counter the current resurgence of pre-modern tendencies in so many parts of Europe, which turn inwards from the nation to smaller units of identity. Without denying the quite legitimate struggles of minority groups to recover their own histories, to revise received historical accounts, and to stand 'proud' in their own 'otherness', we cannot tolerate, as historians, the misuses of historical revisionism which emphasize the superiority of selective traditions and which legitimate hatred of 'the other'.[64] The contemporary, and often barbaric, struggles between nations, regions, ethnic groups and religions in many parts of Europe have yet to be explained in terms of the massive failure of 'modernist' projects to re-educate adults. Following the collapse of the socialist regimes in 1989, there is not only a need for studies of the possible contribution of adult education to the development of democracy, civic society, active citizenship and voluntary initiative in the East. It is also necessary to investigate, on the one hand, the massive failure of the old regimes to educate 'socialist man', and, on the other hand, the increasingly apparent failure of the capitalist democracies to move their populations towards the reality of multicultural societies.

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3

Adult Education and Associational Life in Frankfurt am Main and Barcelona: a structural comparison

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As a pan-European phenomenon the university extension movement covered a great range of quite different forms of popular and academic adult education. Beyond institutional differences, its work was generally based on social reform activities at the end of the nineteenth century which were facing the problem of how to integrate the working class into the existing social order. Education as an answer to the *social question* was no longer limited to elementary and vocational education, but aimed at an extension into higher education as well. The development of academic lectures and courses was seen as an important step towards provision which included all levels of formal education. The successful establishment of this kind of education, however, was highly dependent on the institutional development of the regular school system and its effects on literacy and general educational attainment among wide sectors of the population. The thesis proposed in this chapter is that the degree of literacy and schooling is a decisive factor in the institutional success or failure of academic adult education.

The history of education shows the close relationship between literacy, schooling and adult education in many European countries. The successful fight for literacy was mainly a successful fight for schooling. According to the degree of literacy among its proposed audience, adult education covered quite different functional priorities. In Portugal, Spain and Italy, for example, the compensatory function of adult education dominated until well into the twentieth century.[1] In countries with a more developed public or private school system, such as England, Germany or Denmark, already in the nineteenth century there can be noted a functional shift to vocational and academic adult education.[2] But it was not universally the case that a broadly developed school system and high rates of literacy were enough to ensure the successful institutionalization of academic adult education. In this respect the French experience is a very instructive one. Despite a quite similar situation to those in Germany and England regarding elementary schooling and rates of illiteracy, the spread of *Universités populaires* at the turn of the century did not lead to an institutional continuity of that kind of adult education.[3] To account for these different experiences an historical reconstruction of adult education is required, and one which is capable of operating on different levels, analysing not only the history of a particular institution, but the development of the whole setting of educational activities and associations involved, *and* the political, economic and social configuration of the geographical area concerned.

The following study of university extension in the two urban areas of Barcelona and Frankfurt am Main tries to take into account these different dimensions, while focusing on the relationship between the expansion of academic adult education and the influence of the general school system. The first part is devoted to the institutional development of the different forms of academic adult education in the two cities, contrasting the limited initiatives in Barcelona at the turn of the century with the continuous activities in Frankfurt. In the second part the divergent outcomes in the two cities are related to the institutional development and the educational effects of the general school system, a contrast being drawn between the extremely splintered structure in Barcelona with high rates of illiteracy, and the differentiated public organization in Frankfurt with elementary education available to all. In the third part, the specific setting of the educational institutions in both cities is interpreted as a consonant factor within characteristic configurations of the social, political and administrative dimension of the local and national environments.

Organization and development of academic adult education

The influence of university extension in Spain was limited to the first decade of the twentieth century. Its introduction was due to the combination of three political and social movements, each of which, in part, was supported by the same persons and institutions:

Krausism as a modernizing reform movement, which had an important educational and political influence in the second half of the nineteenth century;[4]

social reform, which considered the solution of the *social question* as a political problem of first priority and which required the integration of the working class into the existing social order by educational and social measures;

Regenerationism, which aimed at a complete renewal of Spain's economic, political and cultural life after the national crisis of 1898 (loss of the remaining colonies).

To the present time the history of university extension in Spain has been studied only in a very fragmentary way. Therefore we have little information about the social and institutional agencies, the concrete educational activities, the quantitative effects, or the gradual decline of the movement at either a national or a local level.[5]

University extension was first introduced into Spain by the Krausists of the university of Oviedo.[6] From there it extended to the universities of Sevilla, Salamanca, Barcelona, Santander, Zaragoza and Valencia, taking both the English (*University Extension*) and French (*Université populaire*) institutions as models. The decisive institutional push for Spanish university extension, however, must be attributed to the national crisis at the turn of the century which resulted from Spain's final colonial defeat in Cuba. From the large amount of contemporary writing on the disastrous deficiencies of the political, social and economical life of *fin de siècle* Spain originated a broad movement which aimed at the regeneration of Spanish society. In particular Macías Picavea, with his book *España como problema* (1899), was one of the opinion leaders who analysed and interconnected the various dimensions of the crisis.[7] As a part of the general regenerationist movement, and sharing its critical attitude towards the 'National Disaster', university extension tried to find a *pedagogic* solution to the variety of political, economic, social and cultural problems. The imminent Africanization of Spain was to be met with 'pedagogical action'.[8] A general programme of culture, especially for the working class, formed an integral part of educational reform activities. The universities—like other social and cultural institutions—were called upon to participate in this kind of *Kulturkampf*.[9]

This way of using the idea of 'crisis' to underline the necessity for pedagogical intervention was not specific to the Spanish situation at the turn of the century. One finds the same argument being used in Danish debates after the German–Danish War (1864), and also in German discussions of popular education after the First World War.[10]

Despite institutional expansion at the turn of the century university extension in Spain remained very limited because of the serious educational deficiencies of its own clientele. Alongside academic courses of lectures, elementary courses to teach basic principles soon appeared in the programme. Vocationally-relevant courses represented an important part of its activities, in addition to excursions and artistic performances. From the second decade of the twentieth century the extension movement changed from being primarily orientated towards academic culture and science to being concerned with the transmission of elementary and vocational knowledge. It is very symptomatic that even contemporary observers pointed out the ambivalent status of the Spanish movement. On the one hand it was compared with foreign institutions and models (University Extension and Universités populaires), on the other hand it obviously related to vocational enterprises like the technical schools of the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País* (Economic Associations of Friends of the Country).[11]

University extension in Barcelona began in 1903 with a central committee located in the city, which co-ordinated the politically and religiously neutral activities throughout the university's region. Local bodies were responsible for organizing educational activities (lectures, courses and excursions) in their particular areas. Between 1904 and 1910 the periodical *La cultura popular. Órgano de las juntas de extensión universitaria de Barcelona y su distrito académico* ('Popular Culture. Organ of the committees for university extension in Barcelona and its academic district') served as an official mouthpiece. The two medical doctors and university professors, Rafael Rodríguez Méndez and Martínez Vargas, were the principal supporters of university extension in the city. Through their influence both the Barcelona section and *La cultura popular* emphasized the medico-hygienic point of view very strongly. Topics such as baby care, infant hygiene and alcoholism provided the main focus of the movement's work.[12]

From 1908 university extension in Barcelona operated as an officially registered association. In addition to educational activities it supported claims for the better resourcing of schools, the establishment of public swimming baths, sports grounds and playgrounds, as well as hygienic improvements in market-halls, hospitals, theatres, prisons, streets and dwelling houses. After its peak years in 1904–08 the Barcelona university extension scheme gradually declined. Only a small residue of educational activities survived into the third decade of the twentieth century.

The activities of university extension in Barcelona are in general poorly documented, and it is also the case that *La cultura popular* preferred to publish instructive articles of general interest rather than to report on particular local activities. Therefore a more precise reconstruction of the movement's history is hardly possible.

Apart from university extension in a strict sense, there were other institutions contributing to this academic educational movement. While the *Institut obrer català* (Catalan Worker's Institute) and the 'Sunday Lectures' at the *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School) of Francisco Ferrer i Guàrdia were examples of short-lived institutions,[13] the *Ateneo Enciclopédico Popular* (Encyclopaedic Popular Atheneum) became one of the most important associations in the field of education, culture and social welfare in the first third of the twentieth century. The *Ateneo* was founded in 1903 and was to be the organizational nucleus of a future popular university. Lessons, lectures, debates, courses, scientific and artistic excursions, sports meetings, visits to public institutions, factories and museums, performances, concerts and an extensive library provided rich opportunities for further education and recreation. The classes—which included, for example, French, English, Italian, German, Russian, Catalan, Esperanto, Grammar, Orthography, Literature, Arithmetic, Geometry, Physics, Chemistry, Stenography, Drawing, Sketching, Photography, Welding, Clothing, Bacteriology, Labour Legislation, Piano and Music-reading[14]—became very popular and were regarded as compensation for inadequate elementary education, and as a deepening of vocational knowledge. In spite of a connection with university extension, the characteristic features of the *Ateneo* resembled rather those of the working-class associations of the last third of the nineteenth century: that is to say, a combination of educational opportunities with leisure activities and welfare services, and an attempt to maintain political neutrality. The commitment to better urban life-conditions and the importance of the sporting component proved to be new elements, however. During the

Second Republic (1931–36) the *Ateneo* abandoned political neutrality and this finally led to its closure at the end of the Civil War.[15]

In Germany, institutional provision of academic adult education for the lower strata of the population started in the 1890s, about fifteen years after the Berlin *Humboldt-Akademie* had been founded as the first specialized institution for the extension of scientific culture for the educated classes. Numerous educational activities of that kind emerged, some inspired by foreign models (from England and Denmark), and some created—as in Frankfurt—without any external reference. Most of the activities carried out by university lecturers were run by the *Verband für volkstümliche Hochschulkurse von Hochschullehrern im Deutschen Reich* (Association for popular lectures of the university professors of the German Empire) founded in 1899. Through personal and organizational continuity many of the educational initiatives supported by this group became direct precursors of the present *Volkshochschulen* (folk high schools).[16]

In Frankfurt, institutional provision for the lower classes was initiated in 1890. The *Ausschuß für Volksvorlesungen* (Committee for popular lectures) founded in that year was directly inspired by the academic courses already available to the better-off citizens of the city; these were provided by three liberal academies—in art the *Städel'sches Kunstinstitut* (Städel-Academy of Art), in science the *Senckenbergische Naturforschende Gesellschaft* (Senckenberg Association for Natural Science), and in humanities the *Freies Deutsches Hochstift* (Free German Foundation). In close co-operation with the lecturers of these academies the new committee set about organizing lectures and courses for socially and culturally disadvantaged classes in the city. The first attempts were so successful that by the turn of the century the committee had progressed to being the dominant institution for adult education in Frankfurt and had absorbed large parts of the educational programmes previously mounted by private bodies. A corresponding shift from a thematically disjointed miscellany of lectures to a systematic extension of structured courses converted the Committee into the fourth academy in Frankfurt, an academy for the common people, but one making the same scientific demand as its traditional prototypes.

The committee's practical activities consisted mainly of popular lectures, lectures for worker's associations, and systematic courses. While the popular lectures were intended to introduce the audience to a particular field of knowledge over three successive evenings, the lectures for the workers' associations aimed at a presentation of a single topic related to the special needs and interests of the participants of the group in question. The longer courses, organized from 1897, were meant to deal systematically with a topic in a series of ten or twelve lectures, and were supposed to give an opportunity for deeper and more detailed study. Beside these three main forms of activity, the committee also promoted guided visits to museums (from 1892), arranged tickets at reduced prices for popular opera and theatre performances, and for popular concerts (from 1896), and organized a people's choir (from 1897). The scientific associations and popular academies (from 1903 and 1905 respectively), the worker and study tours (from 1910) and the German-English exchange schemes (from 1911) were forms of intensive educational work which required a certain level of knowledge and sustained participation. Teaching lessons (from 1908) and visits to the zoo and botanical garden completed the committee's program. After the First World War the committee for popular lectures was renamed the *Bund für Volksbildung* (Union of Popular Education). It continued its work without substantial change and became the direct institutional precursor of the present *Volkshochschule* of Frankfurt.[17]

Private milieux versus public institutions: the effects of (il)literacy

Limited duration and institutional failure in Barcelona, and institutional continuity and success in Frankfurt resulted from basic differences in the educational histories of the two cities (and nations). On the one side was the persistently high rate of illiteracy in Barcelona, the consequence of a socially and ideologically divided elementary school system; on the other side was the almost total absence of illiteracy in Frankfurt, evident since the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, and due to the existence of an inclusive municipal and private school system.

In Spain and Barcelona, illiteracy remained a persistent problem far into the twentieth century. Over and above political, economic and financial factors, the long tradition of Catholic socialization, which strongly favoured oral and interactive forms of communication to the disadvantage of written and printed forms, led to a social predominance of non-literate forms of communication—in the streets, public places, meetings, bars, casinos, and so on.[18] As a result of deficient compulsory schooling and an insufficiently developed school system, illiteracy still affected about fifty per cent of the Barcelona population at the turn of the century.[19] For decades, the city was unable to build up a comprehensive school system for the main part of the school-age population and thereby reduce the influence of private institutions. Its educational efforts were basically aimed at the development of a few model elementary schools and some technical institutes for the middle and higher levels, while the greater part of the population continued to depend on private provision and initiatives.

Consequently, the three dominant social milieux in Barcelona, the Catholic Church, the organized working class, and Catalanism, not only maintained but even intensified their own educational efforts at the turn of the century. They tried to compensate for the enormous deficiencies of the public school system *and* to recruit new clients from the adult population. Within the great range of activities supported by their widespread associational networks, educational provision represented an important, even if not dominant component. Activities in the field of leisure and social life were organized, as were financial and social services such as insurance, welfare assistance and job-finding. Thus members received extensive and dependable support, catering to as many of their everyday needs as was possible.

The multifunctional orientation of these social milieux corresponded to the multidimensional structure of the clubhouses which the associations supported. The main hall, the classrooms accommodating daytime lessons for children and evening lessons for adults, the recreation rooms for sociable games, the library, the sports rooms, the employment bureau, the co-operative or consumer society, the bar or the restaurant—all these facilities allowed a socio-spatial connection of the different fields of life within the same association.

This all-inclusive influence upon the membership became evident in the fiction of the ideal adherent—a fiction which adapted to the dominant social conceptions of each of the three milieux. Catholicism attempted to recover its accustomed position by exploiting the ideal of the 'faithful Catholic'. In contrast, Lerrouxism—a social-political movement named after its long-standing leader Alejandro Lerroux y García which spread out from Barcelona at the beginning of the twentieth century and became an important influence within the republican parties[20]—sought to recruit new voters by appealing to the ideal of the 'convinced partisan'. Catalanism, by contrast, aspiring to political, economic and social autonomy for Catalonia, adopted the prototype of the 'good Catalan'. In fact, for a particular individual these different social milieux and attitudes could overlap. More common, however, was the exclusive embrace within only one of these associational networks. Considering the social segmentation and the low educational level of the population, the plan to establish an academic and socially integrating form of adult education stood hardly any chance of successful and continuous realization.[21]

In Frankfurt—as in Prussia generally—the urban population became literate a much earlier historical stage. Already in the first half of the nineteenth century, the confessional schools had succeeded in almost completely eradicating illiteracy. Despite massive urbanization and the inflow to the proletarian strata of Frankfurt in the second half of the century, this high level of basic education was maintained. The city took great efforts to counteract this demographic pressure by deliberately extending the municipal school system and communalizing many confessional schools. Before the turn of the century it had succeeded in monopolizing the leadership in the domain of elementary education. In a second phase of communalization at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the city also took charge of technical and commercial schools, which had previously been organized and managed by private associations. The final result was that both elementary and vocational education were administrated through public institutions and public funds.

Against this background, the institutionalization and differentiation of academic popular education had already started in Frankfurt during the 1890s. The first specialized institution in this field was the *Ausschuß für Volksvorlesungen*. Activities in adult education, which—as in Barcelona—had originally been the province of numerous private associations, gradually became concentrated in this new agency. The committee's lectures were free and were accessible to all sections of the population, including women. Extending and democratizing scientific knowledge and cultural life followed a model of integration which had already been used successfully by the municipal administration in other fields, such as insurance, welfare, and jurisdiction. On the one hand this model was intended to allow the city to provide on its own behalf free or cheap technical and social services for all the inhabitants; on the other hand it secured the collaboration of the most important social groups in organizing and controlling these services. This double orientation became the basis for a highly successful urban policy of intervention, and within a few years led to a massive shift from private to municipal provision. A broad and stable coalition of progressive Liberals, reformist Socialists and professional civil servants promoted the development of public services, which despite the prevailing political discrimination (the census vote) produced an enormous integrative impact.

Divergent configurations of the nation-state

The success of university extension in Frankfurt and its failure in Barcelona were not only consequences of the different processes of educational differentiation, but also effects of the divergent processes of nation-building. In Barcelona and Spain more generally, the limited possibilities for establishing university (academic) adult education were a consonant element in the specific configuration of the host society. Low educational attainment, a deficient school system, the socially segmented activities of the three dominant milieux and the absence of a mechanism for social integration were consistent with at least three interrelated determinants of Spain's social development in the nineteenth century: the weak penetration achieved by public administration, the lability of the internal political situation, and the absence of a national project capable of producing social integration

First, because of the precarious state of both central and local administration, Spanish society failed to create a modern policy of administrative intervention with any integrative impact. In addition to the financial difficulties, the impossibility of long-term planning within the administration prevented further penetration. Between 1832 and 1874 the state Secretaries with responsibility for educational matters changed every six months, the Under-Secretaries held office for only for one year.[22] The continuous changes had disastrous consequences for the realization of any continuous and coherent educational policy. Decrees signed by the outgoing secretary could be cancelled by his successor, and then reintroduced when the next change of office took place. The labyrinth of decrees, ordinances, cancellations, repeals and reordinances, difficult even for experts to understand, had the effect that local educational and teaching practice obeyed not so much the 'gold thread of the law'[23] as its own imperatives which lay outside the corpus of governmental and legal regulatory instruments.

Secondly, this administrative instability was mainly a consequence of political instability, which produced not only continual changes of governments and constitutions but also repeated periods of war both in the Iberian peninsula and in the overseas colonies. Because wide sectors of the population were excluded from the political process, parliament was considerably weakened as an arena for the resolution of social conflicts. The restricted franchise and manipulation of elections by military coups or boss rule, and the automatic alternation in government of the two dynastic parties confronted both active electors and those denied a vote with the insignificance of their own political position. The artificiality of parliamentary discussion was broken again and again, however, by virulent resort to 'direct action' outside the constitutional framework as in, for example, the creation of councils assuming revolutionary or semi-revolutionary power, terrorist affrays or fights at the barricades, 'spontaneous' revolutionary seizure of land or the actions of *Mano negra*, an anarchist group in Andalusia. Outbreaks of this kind formed a plebiscitary counterpart to the sterile and fictitious constitutional monarchy.[24]

Thirdly, with the loss of the last colonies (1898), probably the most acute problem of Spanish policy, the absence of any unifying national project with which all social groups could identify, became pressing. In the age of European nation-state building, Spain underwent the counter-experience of a colonial empire disintegrating and centrifugal tendencies being transferred to the peninsular motherland in the form of regional movements. Since general mechanisms of social integration and identification were lacking, the particularist strategies of the old and new forces of solidarity (church, labour movement, regionalism) remained powerful and effective, so that their associational networks became ever more independent and threatening to the institutions of the state. The monopolistic claims of these three social alignments did not admit any common and unifying perspective beyond their own group interests, and they served therefore as decisive vehicles of socialization for a great part of the population.

In Frankfurt, in Germany, the establishment of a specialized institution for academic adult education was also consonant with other elements of the particular configuration of the surrounding society. The relatively early success in producing a literate population, the comprehensive public school system and the development of academic adult education can be related to the three themes already identified (administrative penetration, political participation, national project), although now with an inverse significance.

In the first place, public administration was efficient. This derived largely from the secure position of civil servants in Germany, that is, permanent and continuous professional status, immune from current political changes, which decisively confirmed their political and social importance, and brought enormous authority and effectiveness to public administration. Not only could government officials take legislative initiatives, they could also direct and control the practical implementation of decrees which had been enacted.[25]

In the second place, the political participation of the population was tightly constrained by a rigid system of elections on a limited franchise, especially at the regional and local level. But in spite of this political discrimination and the consequent exclusion of the Socialists from political decision-making, there were still many instances of a politically tough, but broad coalition between the liberal and socialist forces, particularly with respect to social and cultural affairs. This co-operation in the field of public intervention became an important factor in managing competing social interests, since the reformist-socialist wing of the working class became increasingly integrated into municipal administration—and therefore into the socio-political system—through its voluntary collaboration in the General Sickness Fund, the industrial courts, the municipal commissions and the labour offices.[26]

Then in the third place, by generally accepting the nation-state and adopting middle-class notions of culture and education the ordinary people of Frankfurt identified more and more with the German Empire. Through its emphatic acceptance of a middle-class concept of education (*Bildung*), and extensive reading of middle-class writers the working class increasingly cultivated bourgeois models and values.[27] The furniture and decoration of working-class homes expressed the same trend and a predisposition towards typical middle-class objects of culture and prestige.[28] The large number of national symbols and the celebration of the Royal and Imperial cult also created points of contact between different sectors of the population. Even the proletarian cult, although conceived as being in opposition and rivalry towards the official symbols, used the same elements as the national middle-class cult (processions, emblems, flags, music and songs); it did *not* lead to any ultimate break with liberal society but actually shaped the labour movement according to formal patterns characteristic of the middle class.[29] In contrast to the situation in Spain, the symbols of national identity, the mechanisms of social integration and the general acceptance of middle-class values formed, in Germany, a very effective triad of socialization.

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'With Fire and Faith': R. G. Moulton's university extension mission to the United States

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> 'There have been many lecturers, but only one Moulton, and I hardly think there will be another. The next generation will find it difficult to realise the peculiar quality of his work; perhaps difficult to understand how splendidly successful it was.'
>
> A. J. Grant, *University Extension Bulletin*, October 1924

Introduction

Richard Green Moulton was one of the most important and active of the Cambridge extension lecturers. During a lecturing career which spanned fifty years he wrote at length about the university extension movement. He also wrote several authoritative books on the study of literature, and on the Bible as literature. Although born in the middle of the nineteenth century, his lecturing and writing career stretched well into the third decade of the twentieth and many of his ideas seem well ahead of his time. This chapter considers in particular at the time he spent in the United States of America and his influence there.

In 1891 Moulton defined the ideal extension lecturer: 'something more than a good teacher, something more than an attractive lecturer; he must be imbued with the ideas of the movement and ever on the watch for opportunities of putting them forward'.[1] There can be little doubt that he himself was a good teacher, if by that is meant one who can impart knowledge to his students. He was, by all accounts, an 'attractive lecturer', becoming famous for a particular style of delivery which he called his 'interpretative recitals'. Even by university extension standards his audiences were large. In the 1890/91 session, for example, an average attendance of a thousand was recorded for his course on 'Milton's Poetic Art' in Philadelphia. While it cannot be denied that many would go and listen to whatever was on offer, it is doubtful that they would have continued to do so in such large numbers had they not been impressed. According to fellow educationalist Michael Sadler, 'he was infectious, radiant, magnetic […] part preacher, part actor, part troubadour'.[2]

It would seem that Moulton was particularly suited to the role of itinerant lecturer. He combined oratorical skills with learning, stamina with confidence, and had an undoubted 'presence' which was perhaps his greatest asset. Another of his colleagues has described how he 'used gesture, declamation and rhetoric to promote real intellectual study'.[3] There can be no doubt that he was indeed imbued with the ideas of the movement and never missed an opportunity of putting such ideas forward, not only in his writing, but also in interviews with the press and in discussion with his students and fellow lecturers. Moulton has been described as the first person to regard university extension as a permanent career.[4] Many of those who were involved in university extension lecturing in the early days regarded it only as a temporary phase. A rare example of his sense of humour is recorded in the *University Record* of the University of Chicago where he described how he challenged Professor Geddes of Edinburgh, 'a master in the fine art of diagrammatic exposition', to correlate Dundee marmalade and Pontius Pilate.[5] This Geddes was apparently able to do without hesitation.

Moulton has also been credited with the growth of university extension in the United States. Although many individuals from both sides of the Atlantic made significant contributions, it could well be argued that his was certainly one of, if not the, greatest. Contemporary writers were generous in their praise of him and did not hesitate to attribute a great deal of the success of the movement in the United States to him personally. It must be acknowledged, however, that he had other reasons of a more pragmatic nature for first visiting North America.

Family background

Moulton was born on 5 May 1849 in Preston, Lancashire, his family moving to Cambridge fifteen years later. His family background was of enormous importance to him both in his choice of career and also in its development. His grandfather, described as 'an intimate friend and follower of Mr.

Wesley,'[6] was a Methodist minister, as was his father, J. E. Moulton. One brother, James, was superintendent of the Wesleyan Mission in the Tonga Isles; another, the Revd William Fiddian Moulton was a Biblical scholar and head of the Leys School, Cambridge, and the third, Fletcher Moulton, was a scientist and member of the judiciary. It is not surprising that Richard Moulton inherited the family interest in religion; in addition he possessed oratorical talents which are sometimes associated with the religious ministry. 'In the service of universities he did what his forbears had done in the service of the Wesleyan connexion. [...] He served his cause with fire and faith.'[7]

Moulton attended New Kingswood School in Bath and Clevedon College, Northampton, then worked as an usher at Clevedon College and later as an assistant master at a boys' school while preparing to take the London University (External) BA examinations. He gained a scholarship at Christ's College, Cambridge and began extra-mural lecturing for Cambridge in 1874. Two years later he first made the acquaintance of Skelton Cole and his family. Cole was a trustee of Firth College, Sheffield, which had links with the university extension movement; two decades later Moulton was to marry Cole's daughter Alice.

Moulton was in the habit of keeping two 'diaries'. In one he wrote about family and personal matters; the other became an extensive collection of autobiographical notes, and it remains in the Cambridge University archives unpublished. In these notes, written in his own form of shorthand which is at times difficult to decipher, he recorded at irregular intervals the most momentous events of his career as well as reminiscences and his hopes and aspirations for the future. Twenty years after first lecturing for the Cambridge Local Lectures committee, for example, he noted down some personal memories of his time as a student at the university. These included the dedication of the college chapel, debates, boating and an essay on the American constitution. His memories, he concluded, were on the whole pleasant, though it seems he lived in the 'reflected credit' of his brother. He believed that he had been considered to have 'independence and strength' but to be not technically 'good'. He felt 'throughout an alien', making some but not strong efforts to assimilate. With hindsight, he described Cambridge education as 'poor'. He 'never came in contact with a great man, a great idea or a great book' during his time there.[8]

Moulton also wrote about what he called his 'accident of joining' the extension movement, paying tribute to the 'magnetic personality' of James Stuart, father of the English extension system and a friend of his brother. He recalled with evident pleasure the impact of the concept of extension teaching. Another early extension lecturer, Moore Ede, later recalled how he had first urged James Stuart to 'secure this brilliant young man as lecturer for the new movement', and described how when Moulton began his work for Cambridge in 1874 'no lecturer attracted such large audiences. [...] The Syndicate Lectures Committee shook their heads over the idea of "Hebrew lectures" [but] when the experiment was tried it was found that no subject was more enthusiastically received.'[9]

After the initial enthusiasm generated by the university extension movement there was a gradual falling off in interest. 'When a centre needed an infusion of fresh life and spirit, the invariable request which the Local Centre sent up to Cambridge was that Dr. Moulton might be appointed to lecture for them.'[10] He helped organize major centres such as those at Hull and Scarborough, 'opened up new paths in his own special subject of literature' and was the first to prove that it was possible to interest a mixed audience in Classical literature in translation. There had been considerable surprise when a course on 'The Ancient Classical Drama' in Newcastle had attracted audiences of seven to eight hundred. 'His suggestive treatment of Shakespeare and the poetry of the Old Testament turned scores of attendants at his lectures into students of literature.'[11]

Dedication to Life-Work

On 5 May 1879 when he was thirty years old, Moulton declared himself of age and 'inclined to dedicate' himself 'to a Life Work thus defined: to Found the Study of Literature'.[12] This was to be accomplished 'by investigating its proper relations with History Science and Education, by writing foundation-books in the first two and getting the world to accept my views in the third'. Rather than commit his whole life to a moment's decision, he decided to concentrate on one particular area initially. This piece of work was to be a Shakespearean *magnum opus* and 'was adopted with a religious solemnity as the supreme force and purpose for that part of life'. Looking back six years later, when the book was about to be published, (*Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, the Clarendon Press, 1885) he was surprised at his 'faithfulness and tenacity of purpose—though with waverings—amid serious failure of health—and the greatest discouragement in the matter of publication'. Unfortunately, as he recorded, there were certain problems with the project:

> It has developed the Doing side of life and left the Being to wither; it has favoured the tendency to Isolation which is one of greatest personal dangers; it has favoured a specially dangerous form of inertia—the shrinking and postponement of great questions of life and general settlement.

It was now time for 'settlement of life on a permanent basis'; he had no hesitation in 'making definite Dedication of Life to Life Object'. There were various 'considerations bearing on such Choice and Dedication'; an element of arbitrariness, past events, his personal qualifications and 'the Glory of God—as it used to be called: now we put things more concretely—Devotion to Truth/The Good of Mankind'. He asked himself whether there was any question that the Life Object was the one originally chosen and concluded that despite the occasional wavering, it was in fact the same: 'then be it chosen'. He did however wish to record that

> this Choice and whole consideration is done without an atom of enthusiasm and in a manner singularly contrasted with such considerations in the past—this believed to be temporary condition, part of the general apathy and aimlessness of last part of term of years—may be accepted as indication of strength of original purpose—must act by direction of highest part of nature, independent of feeling.

The denial of all emotional inclinations in favour of the life-object illustrates the single-mindedness he brought to his career. Perhaps too the religious background of his early life was influential in this respect.

First trip to America

In 1890 Moulton decided to spend a year travelling abroad. He first visited several European countries then travelled to the United States where he was to spend several months. Previously he had not felt able to risk the journey, being forced by 'an affection of the ear labyrinths' to avoid sea-crossings.[13] However after treatment and a successful trial trip to the Orkney Isles, he felt able to undertake it. His nephew has described how 'a moving spirit in American education' had already put pressure on Moulton to 'go over and give encouragement and inspiration to those engaged in similar work' in the United States.[14] It seems likely that this refers to George Henderson, then Secretary of the Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University

Teaching who visited the Oxford summer meeting in 1890 where Moulton was giving nine lectures on ancient Classical drama. Other Americans whom he had encountered at the summer meetings in England and at meetings organized by the New Shakespere Society had also urged him to visit the United States.

A lecture tour was organized for him by the Redpath Lyceum Bureau of Boston and Chicago. According to the publicity leaflet he was 'An excellent and original critic [...] also a graceful and eloquent speaker, and will compare most favourably with the best lecturers who have visited us from the other side'.[15] Moulton offered courses of lectures on the 'Story of *Faust* or, Buying the world at the price of the soul'; Shakespeare's '*Tempest*, with companion studies'; 'Four studies on Shakespeare'; 'Ancient Dramas for modern audiences and studies', and Milton's '*Paradise Lost*'. He also suggested a variety of single popular lectures. 'The most distinctive feature of my lecturing, from the popular point of view, is what I call "Interpretative Recitals". This has the effect to the listener of recital, but I consider it more effective to substitute for actual recital "Recital interwoven with description and condensation".' Thus, among the single popular lectures were: 'Shakespeare's *Henry V* [...] half lecture, half interpretative recital; in practice found more attractive then I can account for' and 'The *Alcestis*, or love versus splendor, interpretative recital, the most popular of all ancient drama'.

The leaflet also contained glowing 'testimonials from eminent scholars'. Dr F. J. Furnivall, director of the New Shakspere Society of London, wrote: 'Were I to search all England thro', I couldn't pick a better man than you to represent the old country as a lecturer on English Literature in America.' James Stuart was particularly effusive, referring to the clearness and lucidity of Moulton's style and his admirable power of holding and interesting while instructing his audience,

> I have been for many years one of the managers of the Cambridge University Extension Lectures, and I can unreservedly say that I know of no lecturer on that system who has been more in demand and more successful than Mr. Moulton, nor any who has on the public platform, no less than in the teacher's chair, done more to interest audiences, both great and small, in the work the University has in hand, as well as in his very special subject.

Philadelphia

On 19 November 1890 Moulton addressed a public meeting in Association Hall, Philadelphia which was to be of tremendous significance in the development of university extension in the United States, and which provided him with an early opportunity for explaining his views. The meeting was presided over by Provost Pepper of the University of Pennsylvania, president of the recently founded Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching, and 'An orchestra of students of the University enlivened the proceedings with operatic airs, and received many encores.'[16] Moulton, recently arrived from England, described himself to the audience as an older brother 'and perhaps you, as a younger brother, would like to hear a few words from me. [...] I want to put the ideas of the English movement before you. University Extension means university education for the whole people, organized upon itinerant lines'. He then expounded his philosophy on university extension. This was to become familiar to American audiences and formed the basis on which he developed his own individual style of teaching.

> There was a time in history when religion was simply meant for a few. Then came the great reformation and religion became the boon of all. This movement is not a revolution but a silent change coming over all the people in the shape of desire for life education.

To those who would question how education could be made suitable for all, Moulton explained that not every person could get the same amount of benefit. There was a dilemma—some students wanted a traditional university education, others wanted something more practical. This was solved in England by making the methods 'as high as a University' and the curriculum elastic. He believed that 'In the university extension teaching the lecturer should consider his class as miscellaneous as a congregation in a church.'[17] Given the middle-class preponderance in English church congregations in late Victorian times the comparison was perhaps an unfortunate one. President Patton of Princeton then gave his support: 'England is teaching us lessons in real republicanism as far as education is concerned, and the work of secularization of learning is one of the very highest democratic principles.'

According to Moulton's nephew, 'the effect of Moulton's speech was immediate and the society attracted many new members'.[18] Other, possibly less biased witnesses did attest to the success of the meeting at the time: 'Public sentiment was quickened to a wonderful degree in conservative Philadelphia.'[19]

Moulton had written in his diary about his 'American campaign' during the previous month while staying at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York.[20] He described his purpose as to spread his own ideas and gain new ones as to the special faculty of the study of literature; to enlarge the circle of readers for his own books; to assist university extension in America and to explore America as a source of money-making by lecture. He claimed that Philadelphia was 'equal to anything in England'. By Christmas he had agreed to work there for ten weeks from the end of January to early April. The Philadelphia Society for the Extension of University Teaching had been formed on 1 June 1890 'by a number of gentlemen who had noticed with great interest the success of similar efforts in England.'[21] The association's motto was to help people to help themselves. The secretary, George Henderson, left immediately on his fact-finding mission to England, accompanied by James MacAlister. Henderson's *Report upon University Extension in England* was published by the society on his return to Philadelphia. The first local centre opened on 3 November 1890 in the Roxborough area of the city. The universities of Pennsylvania, Princeton and Harvard, as well as Swarthmore and Bryn Mawr colleges, co-operated in the provision of courses. The presence of Moulton was of 'great assistance [...] his experience as an organiser and lecturer and his contagious enthusiasm helped the cause decidedly'.[22] Within the first season twenty-one centres were set up, forty-two courses and 250 lectures had been arranged. The total attendance of all audiences amounted to 50,000.

On 23 December the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching was founded, with the Philadelphia association as its first branch. There was a 'council of not less than 50 of the foremost educators of the country and more than a hundred colleges and universities [...] signified formally their desire to share in the work'.[23] Edmund James of the University of Pennsylvania was elected President, and Henderson became Secretary. By February of the following year Henderson was too busy to send a full account of developments to the *University Extension Journal* in England but mentioned that Moulton was lecturing at seven centres and audiences of over a thousand had attended. The journal commented that the 'presence of Mr.

R. G. Moulton will secure that the work is laid down on lines that will be at the same time attractive and thoroughly educational'.[24] A local writer described how 'All classes and creeds have been for ten weeks at his feet, no lecturer has ever touched Philadelphia as Mr. Moulton has done.'[25] The writer of an article in the *Public Ledger* was particularly impressed by his achievements in Philadelphia:

> He threw himself into the work with a zeal and energy which overcame all obstacles and brought order out of the chaos into which the Philadelphia Society was rapidly being thrown. His strength and energy seemed exhaustless [...] he cheerfully gave up his rest days [...] he began lecturing at once twice or even three times a day: encouraging educational work in other places and other directions.[26]

In January 1891 Moulton recorded in his autobiographical notes an event which was to have far-reaching consequences, both for his career and for university extension in America. The first official links with the University of Chicago were forged when he signed a one year contract to work there 'assisting the start, including u.e.'[27]

The American survey

In May 1891 Moulton completed a survey which he entitled 'America as a new element in my life'.[28] America, he wrote, was 'as a source of influence to me most unexpected, remarkable and assured'. This was seen, he claimed in offers he had received: from Columbia College and the University of Pennsylvania. There was also 'clear influence with other universities [...] Cornell, Boston, Harvard; Johns Hopkins; University of the State of New York; Brown and Lowell Institute and Chautauqua [...] not to mention colleges—Wellesley, Vassar, Smith'. There were, finally, negotiations with Canada, South, Yale, Middleton, Princeton and the Middle states. There was, above all, the Chicago offer: 'a chair then a year's work in and around the university and outside', with the hope expressed that he might be induced to stay—'practically carte blanche', as he put it. He had, he believed, been 'identified as representative to all America of the English movement'. There was evidence of wide circulation of his books; that they were being used as text books in so many colleges he regarded as clear evidence that his visit was increasing circulation. He recorded 'unmistakeable evidence that my "personality" is a stronger force than I appreciated or can understand'.

It was at this time too that 'the substance of addresses' which he had given at Johns Hopkins and other universities were published as *University Extension and the University of the Future*. In this he acknowledged that the extension movement had been started, directed and controlled by the universities but continued

> I do not know that this is an essential feature of the movement [...] I can conceive the new type of education managed apart from any university superintendence; only I should look upon such severance as a far more serious evil for the universities than for the popular movement.'[30]

He then spoke about the idea of universal education, defining university extension as the university of the busy

> My definition puts the hope of extending university education in this sense to the whole nation without exception. I am aware that to some minds such indiscriminate extension will seem like an educational communism, on a par with benevolent schemes for redistributing the wealth of society so as to give everybody a comfortable income all round.

However, he did not mean that each individual would draw the same from the system. He compared university extension to a stream flowing from the 'high ground of universities' from which each individual helps himself according to his means and his needs; one using a cup, another a bucket and a third a cistern, 'while our duty is to see that the stream is pure and that it is kept running'.

He believed that education can lead to the 'raising of the masses': 'And I say boldly that to interest in intellectual pursuits is the essential of education, in comparison with which all other educational purposes must be called secondary. [...] The movement is [...] one of the greatest movements for the "raising of the masses".' The contemporary conception of rising in life was that of moving from one rank into another. While this was a legitimate ambition it was outside the present discussion:

> university extension knows nothing of social distinctions. [...] There is a saying that all men are equal after dinner: and it is true that, while in the material wealth we seek in our working hours equality is a chimera, yet in the intellectual pursuits that belong to leisure there is no bar to the equality of all, except the difference of individual capacity and desire.

The issues raised—that there was not necessarily any need for the universities to be involved in extension work, that it should be available to all and that it was a means of 'raising the masses' could be regarded as contentious, but all were ones which Moulton believed to be of the highest importance and which he frequently repeated.

The University of Chicago

The plans for university extension at the University of Chicago were widely publicized even before it opened in October 1892. President William Rainey Harper was determined that extension should play a significant role and was able to develop it as the university itself developed. It would seem that the relationship between Harper and Moulton was very important in shaping Moulton's career; Harper, himself a Hebraist of renown, admired Moulton's work on Biblical studies. He was also an influential figure in the Chautauqua movement and was responsible for Moulton's involvement in it. As well as enlisting Moulton and two other English extension lecturers, he was able to persuade 'some of the best lecturers of the Philadelphia Society and other American organisations to transfer themselves to the great western city'.[30] A large number of centres sprang up in Chicago itself, many of which were connected to religious organizations. In addition to its lecture-study and correspondence departments the university instituted a class-work department in which groups of ten to thirty students were taught by professors on Saturdays—the only difference from undergraduate courses being that they were taken over a longer period of time. 'Men were sent as far east as the shores of Lake Erie and as far west as the banks of the Mississippi [...] a 250 mile area around Chicago.'[31]

Lyman Powell, an American lecturer, writing about 'the marvellously rapid growth of the extension work of the University of Chicago', commented on 'its already perceptible success in converting, through its Extension department, much of Chicago's enthusiasm for material things into a healthy interest in higher and more intellectual concerns'.[32] He was complimentary about Moulton himself, referring to 'the dramatic and captivating tones of Professor Moulton to whom England and America alike owe perhaps the foremost obligation for developing the movement by presenting the spectacle in his own personal model Extension lecturer'.

Moulton had originally declined the offer of a chair in the University of Chicago because his intention was not to settle permanently away from England. Having agreed instead to help there during the university's first academic year, he then returned to England for several months where he made 'independent arrangements' to give a hundred and fifty lectures on the Bible, 'the university extension authorities at Cambridge not at that time able to include in their lists such a course by a layman'.[33]

In December 1893 Moulton returned to Chicago and although he came back to England in 1894 it was then that he resigned 'his connexion' with Christ's College and Cambridge university extension. Thenceforth, according to his nephew, any work in England 'was purely subsidiary', Chicago becoming his working base.[34] His association with the University of Cambridge had spanned a quarter of a century. His contribution to the English extension movement was summed up in the *University Extension Journal*, 'Dr. Moulton's connection with the university extension movement in England has been so long and so intimate and his service so important, that it is difficult to overestimate the loss which his retirement occasions [...] no lecturer of the extension staff has aroused more enthusiasm by his lectures, or gained a more brilliant reputation.'[35] There was reference too, to his 'art of stimulating thought in his audience', and his insistence on the importance of weekly paper work and strenuous private study. 'We cannot avoid expressing the regret that the University of Cambridge has not been able to keep in England a man who has done for her such signal services, and whose enthusiasm for literature and devotion to educational ends is so marked.'

In the same year Moulton's article *University extension: An ancient prophecy against university extension* was published. He referred to a prophecy from Ecclesiasticus: 'that there is one wisdom for the Busy and another for the man of leisure.' He challenged this, saying that university extension was the university of the busy. He then elaborated on his theory of the Duty of Leisure:

> A life that is sound and grateful to think of must be a life in which work alternates with leisure. This is a principle that has equal application to a coal porter and a college president. It is one of the principles which help to make intelligible the differences between the varying ranks of life. [...] I hold then that the great want of our time is the assertion of this Duty of Leisure. And there can be no more essential witness to this duty than the University Extension movement; for the hours of breadwinning other agencies will provide training, but the teaching done in our extension classes is an education for the leisure of life.

The ideal of a liberal education, he believed,

> is not the giving of a specialty, but the giving to each particular specialist an intelligent sympathy with the pursuits of all others. It is not the purpose of Extension teaching to make the potter, or the smith, or seal graver, into expert economists or art critics; but it is its purpose to bring all these kinds of manual workers into *sympathy* with the intellectual interests of life.

He finished with a statement of his hopes for the future development of the movement:

> It seems to me that the Extension movement is in the position of a manufacturing concern that has got no further than manufacturing its own samples. We can point to just a specimen potter, or a single circle of smiths or engravers doing cultured work under our system; apart from this, nearly the whole of our teaching is absorbed by the middle classes and those who have some culture to begin with.[36]

He thought that to a certain extent that had been wise policy, until the university extension 'machinery' had been perfected and some form of endowment obtained. 'But this tentative period ought to be nearing its end, and before many years are over, I look to see the university extension movement going out into the forges and workshops, the markets and pasture lands, and compelling them to come in.' He gave, however, no indication of how the people were to be compelled to attend.

Moulton's permanent career at Chicago began as 'Professor of Literature (in English)' in 1894, his work divided equally between lectures for the university and for university extension. Eight years later, he became Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation. By the academic year 1902/03 the extension department at Chicago was providing over two hundred courses in a total of eighteen states. Moulton himself lectured at eleven centres during the session: Allegheny, Buffalo, Chicago, Cincinnati, Dubuque, Indianapolis, Massillon, Mt Carroll, Pittsburgh, Xenia and Youngstown. He was forced to reduce his commitments after a bout of ill health in 1910 but nonetheless his programme for 1911/12 shows that as well as lecturing in Chicago, Cincinnati and Minneapolis he was also teaching in Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto. There is also a reference to a visit to Japan and New Guinea, though there are no details.[37]

He retired from Chicago on 10 June 1919 and returned to England, where he re-enlisted with the Cambridge Local Lectures committee and continued to lecture. His autobiographical notes for the time suggest that he was as busy and successful as ever. In 1923, fifty years after the beginnings of university extension, his contribution was officially acknowledged: he was awarded an honorary LLD by the university of Cambridge—'epoch making recognition', as he himself described it. He regarded his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature and as a Vice-President of the London Shakespeare Reading Society as further evidence of his 'recognition'.[38]

Moulton's colleague Moore Ede claimed that 'It was fitting tribute to his work that on the occasion of the celebration of the Jubilee of university extension in 1923 his own University of Cambridge should confer an honorary Doctor's degree on the man, who, more than any other, had been the apostle of the movement on both sides of the Atlantic.'[39] A fitting honour, perhaps, particularly when linked to the jubilee celebrations, but surely a somewhat belated one.

Moulton delivered for his fiftieth season of lecturing, a course on Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, in Tunbridge Wells early in 1924. He died on 15 August the same year, after a three-month illness.

Conclusion

Moulton's contribution to the study of literature was of great importance; thanks to him many students made a first serious encounter with literature and developed a lifelong interest in the subject. His work on the Bible received great acclaim. His views about the purpose of university extension, though perhaps patronizing to a modern audience, were sincere and well meant. He was not prepared to deviate from his firmly held commitment to improve peoples' lives through education. His respect for his students and genuine belief in the 'raising of the masses' deserve recognition. Rather than stressing the importance of an individual academic subject, he argued that it was providing the inspiration to learn which was the vital contribution the movement should make. Contemporary writers and colleagues agreed that Moulton was a 'veritable apostle' of university extension. 'University extension is a missionary university, not content with supplying culture, but seeking to stimulate the demand for it.'[40] In his belief in the extension movement as a missionary movement he was typical of his time; in other ways he was less so, some of his views being somewhat unconventional. Though Cambridge educated, he was not in the usual sense a 'Cambridge man', never forgetting his feeling of being an outsider during his student days. Though a lecturer in university extension he did not believe the participation of the universities was essential. Though a member of a religious family he studied the Bible as literature as well as for its religious significance and spoke of the Good of Mankind rather than the Glory of God. This unconventionality in attitude and approach could work to his advantage but also at times to his disadvantage.

The accounts of his work in the United States are extravagant in their praise, especially of the famous interpretative recitals. The large number of colleges and universities which requested his services testifies to his overwhelming success. He steered both the American Society and the extension department of the University of Chicago towards the English model; his enthusiasm was immense. While it could not be claimed that he was solely responsible for the manner in which university extension developed in the United States—without the support of men like Harper and Henderson it could not have occurred—his influence is beyond doubt.

In many respects the audiences to which he lectured in the United States around the turn of the century were similar to those he addressed in Britain in that they were predominantly middle class; the occasional inspirational success story of a working-class student remained the exception on both sides of the Atlantic at this time. His audiences thus tended to share the same values and opinions. It could then be argued that the work of R. G. Moulton had little impact of an intercultural nature. On the other hand, the reception he was given by the university extension authorities could be seen as indicative of a marked difference in cultural attitudes. From his arrival in the United States, Moulton was treated with enormous respect and admiration, as testified by the doctorate awarded by Chicago as early as 1891. 'Official' Cambridge had viewed him with suspicion; English literature as a subject was not looked on with favour. According to A. J. Grant, who in the 1880s was one of Moulton's junior colleagues, 'There were [...] some who were not sympathetic with his methods and who thought that the dramatic appeal was too exclusively used';[41] and though many acknowledged the debt owed to him by university extension in Britain, he was never accorded the same adulation as he received in the United States. The American universities and colleges were not as steeped in tradition as the oldest English ones and the authorities, particularly of the newest American establishments such as

Chicago, were similarly not entrenched in their views as deeply as their English counterparts. Other English university extension lecturers were also given the opportunity to lecture on subjects in the United States that they would not have been permitted to offer in Britain.

This did not mean, of course, that the skills and learning required were thought of lightly. Moulton's particular skills were especially welcome in a society which was still relatively new and which had had little time to establish a separate culture. He offered a powerful blend of tradition and modernity—the academic study of English and Classical literature and the Bible combined with an extravagant style of presentation, perhaps the best of both worlds, the Old and the New. He made culture accessible and the Americans revered him for it.

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The Colonial Metaphor and the Mission of Englishness: Adult education and the origins of English studies

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From the Imperial margins

Edward Said's work on culture and imperialism and his development of the concept of Orientalism have begun to shape our understanding of the nature of European constructions of knowledge from the perspective of those over whom this knowledge was used as a form of control. This shift of focus has led to a growing literature by non-European scholars of the experience of colonialism and imperialism, and subsequently of Third World nationalism, which contests conventional Eurocentric accounts. In particular the group of Indian historians around the journal *Subaltern Studies* have brought the question of the representation of colonized people to the fore and have provided illuminating case studies from India itself.[1]

Said's pioneering interrogation of the concept of Orientalism has demonstrated that the learned disciplines that went into its construction during the nineteenth century were far from being scientifically objective.[2] Constructions of 'race' such as those of the French philosopher Ernest Renan, for example, were made less in the spirit of disinterested enquiry than in the service of a resurgent French nationalism in eager competition with its German and English neighbours. The 'Oriental' was constructed by European colonial powers as an Other to national identity which, while it contained subtle exotic attractions and brooding mysteries, nevertheless represented the people of the Near and Far East as a kind of inferior species, often childlike, lacking in moral rectitude, incapable of sustained work and civic virtue and, most importantly, ripe for an application of the civilizing mission which it was the duty of the Western powers to impart.

More recently, Said has written a lengthy argument in which he suggests that Western culture played an important role in the moment of imperialism, not just reflecting it, but creating what he calls a structure of attitude and reference (following Raymond Williams's 'structure of feeling').[3] Western and especially English and French cultures have reacted with the historical process of colonialism in such a way as to assert its inevitability. The English novel, in particular, from *Robinson Crusoe* onwards, he claims, has developed a narrative form which has naturalized the fact of imperial conquest, assumptions of British cultural superiority, and the corresponding abasement of darker-skinned people. Culture is militant, Said maintains, a crucial factor in the desire to found and maintain imperial regimes.

We are looking here, therefore, at 'culture' as the power to generate affective representations, through which the imperialist powers of the nineteenth century were able to claim moral justification for the seamy process of territorial conquest and economic exploitation. Central to this was that strategy of disabling colonized peoples from recognizing themselves in ways other than those offered by the colonial powers, their own 'culture' and traditions being deprived, as it were, of the power of offering them an independent identity. As Conrad's narrator/navigator Marlow, in *Heart of Darkness*, put it to his companions on the *Nellie*, it was only the conviction of the moral superiority of the civilizing mission that justified the squalid actuality of colonialism:

> The conquest of the earth, which mostly means taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it too much. What redeems it is the idea only. An idea at the back of it; not a sentimental pretence but an idea; and an unselfish belief in the idea - something you can set up, and bow down before, and offer a sacrifice to [...][4]

What then was the role of education in this process? This chapter looks at the argument that education has been a form of cultural imperialism, a thesis advanced by Martin Carnoy and others in the 1970s,[5] whose object was to gain the consent of the colonized to their subjugation. It then considers the work of contemporary Indian scholars who suggest that 'English studies' were a key element in this process and had their origins in the attempt to generate an anglicized Indian élite during the nineteenth century.[6] We want to go one stage further however, and suggest that the colonial metaphor and the promotion of English studies returned to Britain later in the century. India especially, it seems, was regarded as an educational test bed from which lessons might be learned for the extension of education to the British lower classes. This process, as reflected in the work of university extension, was couched in the language of the 'civilizing mission', a discourse well honed in India and Africa during the earlier part of the century but now applied to the hill-tribes of Lancashire and the West Riding and the natives of the darkest East End of London.

The colonial metaphor in adult education was first noted by Stuart Marriott, who drew attention to the use of language connected with colonialism and imperialism in the discourse of the university extension movement in 1984. The undignified scramble for influence and free trade pursued by the Cecil Rhodes of university extension, Michael Sadler, on behalf of the University of Oxford bore a remarkable correspondence to the colonial struggle between the European powers:

> Great contemporary issues of political economy and imperialism provided the language in which these issue were discussed; those who conducted the discussion saw nothing incongruous, or even particularly metaphorical, in an appeal to images of free-trade, protectionism, or territorial annexation.[7]

As Marriott shows, extension's 'civilizing mission' was accompanied by much sharp practice and unseemly wrangling among the two established 'national' universities of Oxford and Cambridge and upstart institutions elsewhere in the country. The metaphor of the metropolitan centre, the heartland of the national culture radiating its benefits to the unenlightened masses of the provincial periphery and the inner cities was not confined to India and Africa. Sadler for example saw the presence of what he called the 'national' universities' extension schemes as necessary in provincial towns even when 'local' university colleges had been established.

The language of geography and territoriality was increasingly evident, just as the activity itself was attaining academic status. In 1890, for example, in a kind of prefiguring of colonial national independence struggles, some of the newly established local colleges in provincial towns wished to establish their own extension committees independent of Oxford. The Oxford authorities however, in their role as guardians of the national culture, felt the need to establish the principle (with apparently unconscious irony) that 'territorial monopolies were improper' because 'in the multiplication of local Universities there is a risk of the country being mapped out in geographical areas to the great detriment, as they believe, of the efficiency of education'.[8] (Sadler's colleague and co-author of a somewhat tendentious brief history of extension which over-emphasizes the role Oxford played, Mackinder, was a geographer. Other geographers who were active in University Extension, though in Belgium, at this time included Elisée Reclus, the founder of social geography, a critical approach to colonization.[9] The increase of spatial metaphors may be closely related to colonial expansion. 'Extension' itself is spatial and a term also applied to mapping.)

Alongside the concept of the spatial was the divine. The language of the religious mission was also never far from the lips of extension pioneers. Benjamin Jowett during his term of office as Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University himself referred to 'missionary lecturers' who were sent out to provincial towns to preach the gospel of extension,[10] and references to the missionary spirit in extension are legion. The sense therefore of adult education as a religious mission carried out at a distance from the metropolitan homeland, a distance that is measured both spatially and spiritually, by an elect of the nation's purist spirits is one thoroughly in keeping with the colonial metaphor. Indeed it seems to be a cultural moment of great complexity in which national identity is in the process of being reconstructed with great intensity.

Because, however, identity is always constructed against an absent Other, which is threatening, subversive, mysterious or menacing, English national identity was recreated against both the Oriental Other on the one hand, externally, and its own miserable poor on the other. The space occupied by the poor in the great industrial cities was both a geographical distance and a conceptual one. They resided in the unexplored territory off the main street or in the 'industrial north', an unthinkable journey by horse drawn transport and only just manageable by train. For most of England's middle class the railway was a mixed blessing which not only enabled goods to be brought 'home' more quickly but also, following the Chartist upheavals, provided an uncomfortable link with the riotous and querulous mob. An Englishman's home was increasingly in the 'Home Counties' while what Englishmen knew was safeguarded in the holy triangle of Oxford, Cambridge and

London. Beyond that lay only half-explored territories, which were the place of the 'local', the 'provincial' and the parochial, where people talked a species of dialect, enjoyed strange customs of interest to the newly created expert, the anthropologist, and whored after strange gods.

Education as cultural imperialism

The argument that education was developed as an instrument of control in colonial countries was refined by Martin Carnoy and others in the early 1970s. The centre of experimentation may well have been India, the largest and most wealthy of British imperial conquests. Unlike Africa, India had not suffered centuries of destruction through slavery and its religions and élites were more or less intact when the British took control, indeed a subtle pattern of alliances with those élites had enabled it to happen. The educational purpose of the British, argues Carnoy, was therefore control rather than change (unlike Africa) to create a climate in which a 'free' trade might flourish between Britain and India, ultimately in the colonial power's interest, such that manufactured goods flowed out and raw materials returned. British policy therefore concentrated on winning over élites to serve as middlemen between the British high command and important elements of Indian society.[11]

This new stratum had to be nursed into acting for colonial ends in the belief it was in their best interests to do so, and in order to transform local economic and social structures for the purposes of tighter colonial control. This produced what Carnoy called a 'culture of dependency' which lasted well after formal independence was achieved. By the mid nineteenth century, having experimented with Warren Hastings' version of 'Orientalism', the key to this policy was partial erasure of pre-colonial identity and Anglicization of the élite. As Macaulay's famous Minute of 1834 had it: 'We must do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern [...] a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect.'[12] Key to this as we shall see was the teaching of English, first as the administrative language, which produced a linguistic rupture between the élite and the mass population of the country and secondly, as literature, the repository of the ideal (as opposed to the unsavoury real) Englishman.

Almost without exaggeration, it could be said that 'Englishness' in the nineteenth century was the protectorate of a certain class of families who married amongst themselves or, alternatively, a grail which only the brightest and the best (marinated bodily in Tennyson's Idylls of the King) were allowed to quest. From this clan, it was Macaulay's brother-in-law Charles Trevelyan who laid out the text of Indian Education in his On the Education of the People of India (1838). (Similarly Forster, who promoted the 1870 Education Act which enabled the system of public education in Britain, was the brother-in-law of Malcolm Arnold, the author of Culture and Anarchy). Trevelyan, unlike most Victorian imperialists, understood from the beginning that India would not be held as a colony indefinitely, therefore a strategy was needed which tied India to Britain commercially even while inevitably she moved towards independence:

> No effort of policy can prevent the nations from ultimately regaining their independence. English education will achieve by gradual reform what any other method will do by revolution. The nations will not rise against us because we shall stoop to raise them. [...] We shall exchange profitable subjects for still more profitable allies [...] and establish a strict commercial union between the first manufacturing and the first producing country in the world.[13]

Carnoy argues that the form of education envisaged was not to be a deep grasp of principles but an aping and recital of English literature and philosophy, the function of which was first; imparting a vocabulary of administration and governance and secondly, instilling awe for English aristocratic virtues and a corresponding disdain for the indigenous culture. It created in effect a reformed Brahmin intellectual class, indifferent to science and technology and with an exaggerated respect for literary culture. From this élite, it was hoped, in the celebrated 'Trickle-down' theory, that the culture so achieved would seep into the masses below, a policy which had the additional advantage of freeing the administration of further expense on their education.

However, in the long term the main effect of this policy was only to sever the educated élite from the population as a whole and to create in H. N. Brailsford's words a 'land cursed with an unemployed proletariat of intellectuals',[14] who of course turned their redundant energies to subversive ends rather earlier than Trevelyan had expected. K. C. Vyas maintained in *The Development of National Education in India* (1954) that 'For all practical purposes, in manners, clothes, languages and tastes, they became English—

minded and developed a dislike for those who, unlike themselves, had not taken to an English education. Obviously such persons would never return to the illiterate masses.'[15]

It has been strongly argued that a section of this class generated the Indian nationalist independence movement which relied on mass mobilization to oppose British rule.[16] While substantially accepting this Visnawathan cautions that this still continues Western assumptions of its educational superiority. Partha Chatterjee further argues that without the almost hypnotic powers of Gandhi, whom Nehru regarded as a magician, over the Indian people, the nationalist élite would never have achieved this on its own.[17] The emergence of Indian nationalism, therefore might be regarded as an unforeseen outcome of the educational process.

English Studies

Despite the partial success of British colonial educational policy on Carnoy's account to impose permanent hegemony over the Indian nation, the process was studied closely in Britain and lessons were drawn from it. In an account of the history and function of English Studies in India by one of the new generation of Indian critical scholars, Gauri Viswanathan, India was regarded as an experimental pitch for processes of cultural control through education. Crucial to this experimentation was the development of the specialist area of 'English Studies', a subject which was until them unheard of in Britain. Viswanathan argues that English as a discipline is coterminous with the process of colonialism. From being the occasional diversion of the middle classes in their leisure time, 'literature' during the nineteenth century appears to undergo a profound transformation. Viswanathan cites Terry Eagleton, who argues that it becomes 'Literature', an instrument of ideology 'for the insertion of individuals into the perceptual and symbolic forms of the dominant ideological formation'.[18] This obviously needs some clarification but certainly English Studies within the century had achieved the status of an academic discipline enshrined within educational institutions for which huge claims were made concerning its moral, spiritual and intellectual worth, supported by a rapidly growing professional caste of English teachers and literary critics and the establishment of authoritative canons.

English literary study in India begins as a strategy of containment. With the Charter Act of 1813 came the assumption of new responsibilities for native education and a relaxation of the controls over missionary activity. There was an expressed need for 'useful knowledge' and religious and moral improvement of the native population, because of, in part, frank embarrassment over the conduct of officials of the East India Company. 'English' studies appeared to offer a secular solution to some of these problems since a straightforward Christian mission amongst historically well-entrenched religions was out of the question. Moreover, the initial target of education was not simply native 'immorality' but the representatives of civilization themselves. Viswanathan notes:

> It is impossible not to be struck by the peculiar irony of a history in which England's initial involvement with the education of the natives derived less from a conviction of native immorality, as the later discourse might lead one to believe, than from the depravity of their own administrators and merchants.[19]

Edmund Burke's speech to the House of Commons supporting the bill demanded 'a strong and solid security for the natives against the wrongs and oppressions of British subjects resident in Bengal'. The subtext of English studies was therefore the construction of an ideal type of Englishman against which the actual representatives of the race might be measured and eventually erased from memory. Instead of the real merchant adventurers making a quick killing, the Englishman would come to be idealized as a fateful combination of the great literary tradition. English studies and the construction of Englishness as Brian Doyle has argued, are not in the end separable.[20]

English studies also represented the triumph of the policy of Anglicism over Orientalism, although not in its most crude manifestation. Indeed it was the careful toleration of certain aspects of Orientalism than won for Anglicism a certain softening of its boundaries, a fluidity which encouraged a degree of incorporation. Briefly to trace its history, the policy of Orientalism had been introduced by Warren Hastings in the late eighteenth century as a pragmatically liberal response to the scale of the problem of government in India. Because of the need for native administrators, Hastings argued that good government required a responsiveness to Indian culture rather than a refusal of it, a reaction which in itself demonstrated just how unfixed and relatively open the definition of Englishness was before the high point of Imperialism: 'they do not understand our character and we do not penetrate theirs [...] we have no hold on their sympathies, no seat in their affections'.[21] Thus, rather than intensifying the force of a national identity as yet not fully achieved. Hastings suggested a kind of 'reverse acculturation' in which Indian culture should be studied and respected, a policy which produced the great scholars of Orientalism, Jones, Colebrooke and others. The liberal imperialist function of Orientalism envisaged at this stage ranged from, 'the initiation of the West to the vast literary treasures of the East, to the reintroduction of the natives to their own cultural heritage',[22] a policy characterized by Said as 'the dialectic of information and control'. This is recognizable as the language of multiculturalism and incorporation rather than exclusion and orthodoxy and reflects a greater confidence in the hegemonic colonialist culture's ability to absorb and enrich itself from the Eastern 'treasure'-house while allowing the 'natives' the dignity of their own inheritance.

This was a subtlety lost on the subsequent generation of imperialists. Indeed the counter movement to Hastings's Orientalism began almost immediately. The policy of Anglicism, ironically, drew on the very Orientalist scholarship Hastings had promoted, for comparative evaluations and Lord Cornwallis, Hastings's successor as Governor General in 1786, blamed Orientalism precisely for dalliance and lack of moral fibre. As a culture it induced idleness, neglect of civic responsibility, fatalism and most importantly was bad for business. Thus while Hastings's policy had drawn in Indians to positions of responsibility, Cornwallis now rigorously excluded them, giving strength to the myth that Indians were incapable of it. This policy of inflexible Anglicism was however, given the vast scale of the Indian administration, simply impracticable; a native administration had to be cultivated and the post-Cornwallis generation of administrators adopted a much more flexible compromise. Opening out once more to native traditions, they cultivated an alliance with the traditional rulers in a quasi-feudal mortmain. This was a conscious policy of organicism which in 1813 contrived to 'engraft', in the educationist J. H. Harrington's terms, English on to traditional methods of learning, from which horticulture the resulting hybrid was to be the Anglo-Indian—a fragrantly spiced and darker-hued variety of the European stock.

It became clear however that British administrative needs could not simply be engrafted on to Indian society without a more substantial transformation of the 'Indian character' than had been envisaged. Hinduism came to be seen as an obstacle to utilitarian and 'scientific' knowledge and pressure grew from both free traders and the 'Clapham Sect' of Evangelicals for an ethos of reform and conversion. Thus almost despite itself the British administration was drawn into a more actively interventionist educational policy. But the problem was that such an education could not be left either to the Christian missionaries or to the Hindu colleges for obvious reasons. Thus the English Education Act of 1835 effectively created separate semi-official institutions for the teaching of English and removed official funding from the native institutions—a policy fundamentally opposed by Orientalists like Horace Wilson.

English studies were, almost against his will, pioneered by a subscriber to Christian evangelism, Alexander Duff, in his Free Church Institution. Duff was naturally very suspicious of the official educational policy of secularism which he rightly perceived had been instituted in India in a spirit of experimentation, and chose literary texts for their 'Christian' values. India was used he said as 'a fair and open field for testing the non-religion theory of education',[21] to which his own response was to accommodate secularism to evangelism by sleight of hand. Milton and Cowper were prominent in the curriculum, as might be expected, but so was Bacon and even Schlegel. However probably the bulk of the reading matter comprised such as Pollock's *Selection from English Verse* and Macaulay's *Lays*.

English literary study's founding moment therefore already included a complexed agenda which involved on the one hand a secular programme of acculturation to British business and administrative needs and on the other a deeply coded subtext of 'spiritual values'. English literature more than any other 'national' literature was seen as the repository of the Word of God. Shakespeare, according to Duff, was 'full of religion' but which, problematically, none but Christians could recognize.

But it was always a dangerous strategy, because interpreting the coding demanded an initiated mentor, who of course, in the absence of a profession, could not always be relied on to give a canonical reading. Thus it was not long before complaints were made about the outcomes of such teaching. Shakespeare for example, was for some surely full of religion but of the wrong kind. His excessively *pagan* language contained words like 'fortune', 'fate', 'muse' and worst of all 'nature'. While many educated Indians made their way to Christianity, others discovered not only the noble ideal that was intended but the cunning and subversive anti-hero of *Paradise Lost*, Satan, and made their own comparisons between divine and secular imperialisms. They were, however, gratifyingly in the minority. For the secular administration, Christianity was a side-issue to the central matter of an ideal of Englishness. Trevelyan wrote that through the study of English literature, the Indians 'daily converse with the best and wisest Englishmen through the medium of their works, perhaps gain higher ideas of our nation than if their intercourse were of a more personal kind'.[24]

English was taught more as a branch of history than of rhetoric, and the return to secularism had reintroduced a classical emphasis that endorsed the legitimacy and authority of British institutions. Crucially it offered a cumulative representation of the 'truly civilized man' which would return the student to a unity with himself and repudiate false thinking about the justice and fairness of British rule. Being English was inscribed within a larger discourse of the necessary development of civilization which sufficiently obscured the elision between the English part and the human whole such that the two became identical. Studying English was to study the growth from barbarism to civilization of which the British empire was the shining and inevitable example. Becoming human was to become English. The extraordinary *coup d'œil* of the process was the construction of the ideal Englishman from the texts, who as Trevelyan suggested, could replace in the imagination, and memory, those flawed material representatives who actually wielded power, a theme Michael Sadler, in another context, was later to repeat.

Bringing it all back home

There were lessons to be learned here. Quite early in the process the Marchioness of Tweeddale had 'observed' the same characteristics in Muslims and Hindus as in the English working class: immorality, sensuality, self-indulgence, corruption and depravity. She compared the situation in India with England, even mobilizing the colonial metaphor of 'those living in the dark recesses of our great cities at home'.[25] The problem was that even in the heart of the metropolitan power the Church of England had manifestly failed in its appeal to the members of the working class to take their allotted positions 'at the gate', while the dissenting chapels attracted only the artisan stratum. As in India some more effective means of enlightenment had to be mobilized.

It was inevitably the liberal intellectuals who first recognized the potential of the experiments in India, men who in other circumstances might have found their vocation in the Indian Civil Service, such as Michael Sadler. Sadler, indeed, had briefly considered accepting a professorship in the Moslem College of Aligarh, which was suggested to him by his friend D. S. MacColl who considered him 'the most missionary spirit he knew'.[26] He kept up a passionate involvement with the subcontinent which he too regarded as an experimental crucible for educational policy. He chaired the influential Calcutta University Commission in 1919, which proposed the modernization of the university system, and became an admiring friend of Rabindranath Tagore, whose educational work he celebrated. As Vice-Chancellor at Leeds he opened up the University to Indian students (before there was any money in it) and established a cross-cultural dialogue. By no means a total Orientalist, Sadler was however convinced that India possessed a spiritual aspect sadly absent from industrialized Britain. As his romance with post-impressionist painting and sculpture demonstrated, he was forever seeking a synthesis of the ancient and the modern, Ruskin's medieval guild social structure allied to Nietzsche's projection of the will to power being just another example.[27]

Sadler's evangelism was focused on the working class and women nearer to 'home', but not part of it, for whom the question of a secular education was his highest priority:

> Our work lies among those who have hitherto lain outside the influence of University life and our task is to win them [...] to a new appreciation of the worth of knowledge and a new respect for the dignity of laborious self-culture. To do this we must never fail to cultivate the missionary spirit [...][28]

His abiding concern as Marriott notes was to discern 'the essence of *English* social and public affairs'.[29] Yet he was also aware that the essence he was seeking was not to be found so much as created (his deep interest in German education had alerted him to the element of *Bild* in all such 'essences'). Englishness, he was aware, was something which could be generated in the study of English, although the misleading language of essences often hid this fact.

As late as the turn of the century Sadler was still interested in the Indian educational experience of English studies and advocated setting up a Bureau of Education for the British Empire in 1907,

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> for the accurate study of the methods of teaching and educational administration in the different parts of the British empire, not forgetting those parts where the experience of persons engaged in the training of native races and of non-English speaking peoples throws light upon methods of teaching English as part of a character-forming course of education.[30]

This identity of English studies with character-formation strongly echoes the rhetoric of the Indian debates, but where now the Other to be so formed is not the Hindu or Muslim but the manual labourer.

Sadler also appears to have subscribed to the fiction of the Ideal Englishman, to be discovered in the texts of English literature. In his 1917 address on the 'The Educational Movement in India and Britain', he drew a portrait of the noble dissenter who embodied in England 'the most valued of her possessions', the right to express 'discordant and often inconveniently trenchant opinions on fundamental questions of politics, ethics and religious belief' learnt from bitter experience.[31] As an example he cited the contrasting politics of Wordsworth, Johnson, Milton and Shakespeare and approved the 'shrewd judge of English character and political thought' who said that if you bound together in one cover Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* and Burke's *Reflexions on the French Revolution*, you would have a good book: 'Mix Milton, Johnson and Wordsworth and you get England'. If literary English then was characterized by difference as well as identity, it follows that there is no essential Englishness, only a plurality of opinion mysteriously bound together. Yet Sadler insisted on this mystical identity, which could find its definition only in a curiously technological metaphor:

> If the English tradition is capable, as I believe it to be capable, of rendering fresh and vital service to the new India, it is because we English are like a compensating pendulum made up of different metals which behave very differently at the same temperature of thought and feeling.[32]

The refusal of an image of organicism here and the use instead of the 'compensating pendulum' metaphor is extremely revealing: it owes its force to science and technology rather than religious essentialism, as something constructed rather than found, a distant debt to Blake's 'mind-forged manacles' perhaps. Thus identity is a manufactured thing not a given, in which implicitly education as a process of production is central. Yet somehow through the rhetoric stalks the shadowy figure of the Ideal Englishman who is a *mélange* of all points of view. The English, it appears, are a fiction, or in Anderson's words an Imagined Community.[33]

What Sadler may have had in mind is something like Sorel's enabling myth, the necessary imagined community which could create a unity out of diversity from the spiritual material in English writing. Indeed, elsewhere Sadler specifically refers to the break-up of social tradition under the pressure of economic change as an evil to be addressed by education. In Britain and America under modern conditions of displaced and immigrant communities, school now had to bear the burden left by the destruction of social tradition 'where pits and factories had drawn together a medley of newcomers for whom nothing had been prepared in the way of organised community life'.[34] So while difference and diversity is a virtue in the ranks of the literary English, amongst the lower orders it is a vice which education has to cement into some sort of organic whole called community.

English Studies and university extension

Arguably, English studies in Britain were first developed in university extension classes. The first university departments did not appear until later in the century and not at all in Oxford and Cambridge until the following century, while the demand for courses in English Literature in extension classes had been growing since the early 1870s. These had in many cases been fostered by extension's itinerant missionaries, and many of the founding chairs in English were given to men, like Vaughan and Moorman at Leeds, who had made their mark in that movement. (While Vaughan was described by his undergraduate student Storm Jameson as 'a woman hating humanist', it was Moorman who gave *On Ilkla' Moor baht 'at* to the world and set Herbert Read on a literary career.) There is a strong argument to suggest that they followed a similar principle of justification to those in India by acting as a secular displacement of religious education, but augmented by an almost messianic desire for 'national' cultural renewal.

In the home country, also, literary studies for the lower classes were almost a direct outgrowth of bible studies. One of university extension's greatest missionaries, Richard Moulton, for example, regularly mixed biblical and secular material in his lectures. A report in one of the university extension journals of 1894 describes how in a course on Ancient Classical Drama held in Newcastle, which attracted an audience of seven to eight hundred, 'His suggestive treatment of Shakespeare and the poetry of the Old Testament turned scores of attendants at his lectures into students of literature.'[15]

The process of secularization is much more influenced by utilitarian considerations and, as Norman Jepson has shown, the debate over English literary studies occasioned by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889, came to characterize the subject as the *spiritual* complement of technical training, the character-forming aspect that, as we have seen, Sadler emphasized.[16]

One of the most insistent campaigners for the establishment of literary studies against the resistant Oxbridge establishment was John Churton Collins, later professor of English at Birmingham. For his pains he was labelled a 'louse on the locks of literature' by the Poet Laureate Tennyson. Collins had come into university extension in 1889 without any qualification in literature but with a burning zeal to spread the news. He was like many others, according to Kearney, who were graduates in Classics or History and who came into English literature through their own interest in the subject: 'What they lacked in terms of special expertise in particular areas of English studies they made up for with their range of literary knowledge and, above all, with their quasi-religious sense of cultural mission.'[17] So the colonial metaphor persists. In his contribution to the debate Churton Collins had placed literary studies at the centre of the newly conceptualized policy of 'citizenship' education:

> the ideal of the university extension system is [...] the liberal education of the citizen—the dissemination of aesthetic instruction by the liberal interpretation of poetry, rhetoric and criticism; of ethical and spiritual instruction by the interpretation, in this spirit, of the great masterpieces of poetry [...] By not including the study of literature in its courses, a Centre is closing the door to all this side, this most important side, of popular education.[18]

'Citizenship', as an educational aim had initially been proposed by the chairman of the original Oxford Committee for University Extension, the philosopher T. H. Green, echoing classical studies of Roman and Greek imperialism (as well as, more distantly, the more chilling French 'citoyen' of the Revolution). But here Collins proposes that the ethical and spiritual instruction of the 'citizen' is a function of literature rather than, as Green proposed, philosophy.

Frederic Moorman, who while professor of English Language at Leeds University continued to have an active interest in adult education as chairman of the local branch of the Workers' Educational Association, was a member of the Leeds Arts Club and one of the founders of the influential English Association in 1907. Like Sadler (by then vice-chancellor of the university) Moorman also characterized the study of literature in a scientific metaphor. It was, he said, not just the study of style but 'of an author's thoughts, and, above all, of the great ideals into which his thoughts crystallise', but here that process is organic rather than manufactured and prefigures in a way T. S. Eliot's famous metaphor of the catalyst in his seminal essay, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent'. Literature here is the transparent medium through which the man's character is studied, and through that, spiritual harmony: 'the study of literature is before all things the study of ideals—ideals of truth and beauty.'[39]

Philip Wicksteed, another extension lecturer, also identified the non-literary function of literary studies, which he called the 'vital' criticism, as more important than the linguistic or rhetorical. He uses an interestingly spatial metaphor: 'The strange regions of metaphysical or social speculation into which [the author] leads us will reveal themselves to us in living connection with thoughts and principles that are still active in our lives'.[40] Here the author acts as Virgil to the reader's Dante round unexplored territory, a return to the colonial/mapping metaphor, in order to familiarize the reader with the estranged literary origins of his own sensibility. This approach is interesting because it simultaneously estranges the reader's own beliefs which are lured into the open and captured into literary culture. He or she is merely the unconscious and unwitting parchment upon which a culture has marked its images. To study that culture, therefore, is to reveal a debt to its élite who have provided the reader with what, naively, he believed were his own thoughts and principles. The peculiarity of this view of popular education is its veneration for élites, those mysterious guardians of the culture in whom hidden alchemical processes take place to produce the founding principles of the race. Literature in this version is merely the traces left by this process, which for the initiated will be a source of inspiration.

Conclusion: adult education and the Newbolt Report

With the publication of the Newbolt Report into *The Teaching of English in England* the colonial metaphor reaches its apogee. Most significant is the centrality given to adult education in the report, as the pioneering movement for the founding of English studies, and its continued missionary role.

Not surprisingly perhaps, a number of the committee's members had been actively involved in extension or were strongly sympathetic to it. One of them, the Shakespeare scholar, John Dover Wilson, had also been an Inspector of Schools with responsibility for adult education and in 1914 had kept an official eye on the formation of the Yorkshire District of the WEA (which he regarded as one of 'the greatest instruments for the development of adult education that this country has yet seen').[41] The pressure to set up the committee had come from the English Association in which former extension lecturers like Moorman were also well-represented.

The language of the report, especially its section on adult education, is replete with references to territorial conquest, colonization and missionary activity. Much of this, to be fair, was borrowed from the adult education movement itself, the settlement movement being a key example. Both Toynbee Hall and Keble College's Oxford House had been founded in London's East End in 1884 by Christian Socialists in a frankly missionary spirit. Oxford House's first annual report related that 'Colonisation by the well-to-do seems indeed the true solution to the East End question, for the problem is, how to make the masses realise their spiritual and social solidarity with the rest of the capital and the kingdom'.[42] It is fascinating to note here how, although the colonized area, the East End, is actually geographically in the centre of the metropolis, the discourse of nationalism, 'the capital and the kingdom', locates in it a peripheral distance and not as a place but a 'question', echoing the 'Eastern Question' of late-nineteenth-century European politics (where the morbidly Oriental Turkey was also paradoxically 'the sick man of Europe'). The task of the settlement is not to enquire into the causes of distress but to incorporate 'the masses' into national unity. It is interesting too how the metropolitan centre, which from India may have appeared to be Britain or even Europe, shrinks even further to a small but precious space within the colonizing country itself, so that at one level the process of the educational mission becomes at once a process of internal colonization. Yet perhaps the point is that even the apparently internal territories are only so contingently upon their geographical location. But actually, in terms of the nationalist discourse, they are in fact also outside: the East End is as remote as India. They are also the Other against which the 'true' nation is identified.

Set up after the double trauma of the First World War and Bolshevik

Revolution, the Newbolt enquiry seems at one level to reflect this consciousness of a nation shrunk to the home counties and the middle class, and to see its task as that of national renewal in which its own hearts of darkness in the 'great cities' and their swarming millions, can be incorporated into the new national polity. The instrument of this new settlement was to be English studies. Brian Doyle in his pioneering study of the Report notes that 'In presenting English culture as a transcendental essence inhering within an 'organic' national language and a humanistic literary tradition, the goal was to establish for the study of English at the universities a status equivalent to Oxford's Literae Humaniores.'[43] English was not intended to supplant classics, which were still implicitly the appropriate education for the ruling élite, but for a much wider mission of cultural renewal, which is to say that English studies were the means of co-opting the lower classes into the national settlement. The new English departments were important, according to Doyle, not so much for their internal university role, but in 'leading, co-ordinating, and sustaining extra-mural initiatives'[44] The report signalled this in the importance it accorded to existing adult education:

> In view of the growth of the tutorial classes movement and of adult education generally, which carries with it an increasing demand for courses in English literature, the influence and responsibilities for English departments at universities, especially in the provinces, are likely to be extended considerably in the near future.[45]

It went on to make clear that all work done with adult students should be regarded as university work and carried out at the highest standard because the work was too important to fall into inferior hands. English teachers were therefore a kind of knight errantry who cultivated the poor provincials and protected them from false interpretation of the scriptures. The Arthurian Professor of English should make it part of his duties to keep in close touch with tutors and 'in short that the extension and tutorial classes should be regarded as an integral part of the English Department'.[46]

Doyle notes the tone of anxiety that pervades such passages in the report, that anarchy lurks beyond the university walls, of shiftless men awaiting the false prophets who will no doubt lead them into the ways of Bolshevism and bloody revolution should their courses in Shakespeare not be delivered on time. In this vein the report climbs a register of imperialist and messianic imagery until it culminates in cataclysmic prophesy. If literature is

> a fellowship which 'binds together by passion and knowledge the vast empire of human society, as it spreads over the whole earth, and over all time' then a nation which rejects this means of grace, and despises this great spiritual influence, must assuredly be heading for disaster.'[47]

As we have seen this is not mere rhetoric, since English studies were consciously promoted in the Indian part of the other 'vast empire' precisely to bind it more closely to its imperial master and now the report suggests quite specifically it can do the same for the homeland, or die. Doyle also notes how the section on adult education in the report is also the most political in aims but the most transcendental in language. Literature is claimed to be above politics, yet, suitably wrapped in the discourse of high moral calling, is to be its instrument. It is perhaps appropriate that when the report discusses the social crisis which has brought about the need for English studies, it employs its most military of colonial images, the poet militant 'who will invade this vast new territory and so once more bring sanctification and joy into the sphere of common life'.

The key to the social crisis is a version, possibly even an anticipation of Eliot's 'dissociation of sensibility' thesis, which believes that a rupture occurred in English social life in the sixteenth century and, greatly accentuated by the Industrial Revolution, created a gulf between what the report calls 'the world of poetry and the world of everyday life'. This created an indifference and even hostility to literature among the people at large. However other parts of the report reveal a subtext to this statement which suggests that it was driven by more specific anxieties. One is the 'hostility towards the "culture of capitalism" now prevalent in Bolshevist Russia' and the other is the antipathy to literature expressed by the working classes, 'especially those belonging to organised labour movements': 'Literature, in fact, seems to be classed by a large number of thinking working men with antimacassars, fish-knives and other unintelligible and futile trivialities of "middle-class culture" and, as a subject of instruction, is suspect as an attempt "to side-track the working-class movement".'[48] Such patently erroneous beliefs, the report concluded, pointed to 'a morbid condition of the body politic which if not taken in hand may be followed by lamentable consequences', presumably Bolshevism.

English Studies and by extension Englishness were to be a solution to social disharmony and an antidote to Red Revolution. But it was by no means a flight into an authoritarian orthodoxy. There are passages in the Newbolt Report which suggest an open Englishness which reflects regional difference and dialect and the diversity in unity approach of Sadler. However, this is more often than not masked by an appeal to an essential or spiritual unity which is the mystery at the heart of culture. This ideal Englishman of the literary texts took precedence over the plurality of actual English in their regions and occupations, whose utterances were not sanctified by the canon or those, like Percy Shelley, excluded from T. S. Eliot's 'ideal order'. Both the terminology and the practice of this kind of activity drew on the experimental work of British colonialism's administrators and educators in far-flung exotic places constructed by the language of territoriality and civilizational mission. It was both integrative and divisory, both incorporative and alienating, as the recipients of that education were allowed membership of the imperial or national polity only through tortured fissurings from the colonial or provincial regions of their birth. The means to this was 'citizenship', both a reflection of Imperial Rome's *civis Romanus sum* and a recognition that the British lower classes could not longer be ignored or simply repressed. Edward Said remarks that it was nineteenth-century imperialism that eventually laid the foundations for the global systems of the twentieth century. Some notion of 'Englishness', arguably, was negotiated in those ideologically incomplete spaces between the still labile imperial order and its under-classes which were 'adult education'.

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41 See Tom Steele, 'From Class-Consciousness to Cultural Studies: George Thompson and the WEA in Yorkshire', *Studies in the Education of Adults* 19 (1987), 111.

42 Quoted in Doyle (1989), 30.

43 Doyle (1989), 59.

44 Doyle (1989).

45 Board of Education, *The Teaching of English in England, being the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the President of the Board of Education to enquire into the position of English in the Educational System of England* [Chairman: Sir Henry Newbolt] (London, HMSO, 1921), 248–249, quoted by Doyle (1989).

46 Doyle (1989), 60.

47 *The Teaching of English*, 253.

48. *The Teaching of English*, 254, 252.

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The Invention of Dutch Andragogy: The role of Octavia Hill and Paul Natorp

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Prologue

A profession can be distinguished from other occupations by several features. Its members belong to an association that sets standards for their occupational competence and ethical behaviour, and tries to protect their field of expertise against invasion by other professions. The professional training takes place in universities or in schools which co-operate with universities, because fundamental to the process of professionalization is the creation of a body of scientific and philosophical knowledge fit to serve as material for study and further research.

Some claim that, seen from this perspective, adult education has already reached the status of a fully-fledged profession. Others are less optimistic and maintain that adult education is a 'semi-profession' since it has 'no firm theoretical base; no monopoly of exclusive skills nor special area of competence', while control is exercised by non-professionals.[1]

Whatever the case may be at present, it can be argued that in the past Dutch andragogy was 'invented' in an attempt to meet the requirements of an exclusive and relatively independent domain for both social workers and adult educators in the Netherlands. Those who were involved in seeking a scientific and philosophical foundation for the professional training of social workers and adult educators were influenced by several foreign examples. Among them, two at least deserve special attention: the 'science of charity' which was propagated in Great Britain by Octavia Hill and was later developed in the United States; and the theory of 'Sozialpädagogik' which originated in Germany and was elaborated afterwards by the philosopher Paul Natorp. As a result, early Dutch andragogy became a rather curious mixture of Anglo-American empiricism and German Idealism.

Octavia Hill and the Charity Organization Society

The Victorian years (1837–1901) saw the rise of economic liberalism and its exploitation of the working class. During the last decades of Victoria's reign, an outburst of voluntary work tried to soften the dire consequences of *laissez-faire* capitalism for the poor. In the second half of the nineteenth century, about seven hundred philanthropic societies were active in London alone. The foundation of the Charity Organization Society (COS) in 1869 was meant to co-ordinate and rationalize their efforts in order not to aggravate the already immense poverty by what was seen as 'indiscriminate charity'.[2]

Although the origin of the Charity Organization Society was believed to be 'as undiscoverable as the sources of the Nile', there can be little doubt that the Revd Thomas Chalmers (1780–1847) was one of its most influential precursors. As a Presbyterian minister of St John's, the largest and poorest parish in Glasgow, he had established between 1819 and 1823 a comprehensive system of charity.[3] The parish, which consisted of ten thousand people, was divided into twenty-five districts; every district was headed by a deacon whose task it was to investigate thoroughly the situation of each individual who applied for help. This procedure was according to Chalmers' motto that 'he who seeks another's bounty, shall submit to another's scrutiny'.[4] His system, based on spatial zoning, close surveillance and permanent registration, had its architectural counterpart in the Panopticon, designed by the Utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832). It signalled, from a post-structuralist point of view, the beginning of a new era in which collective coercion was being replaced by individual supervision, and the work of the police was being taken over by psychologists.[5] Chalmers' influence was not restricted to Great Britain. In 1853, the German city of Elberfeld adopted his model of poor relief, with its reliance on social control, exhaustive records and probing statistics. When in 1869 the COS was founded, 'benevolence' was on its way to becoming an 'exact science', or, in the words of the Revd Henry Solly, a 'science of doing good and preventing evil in our social system'.[6]

Octavia Hill (1838–1912) was co-founder of the COS and an important member of its Central Council. She was well prepared for the job. Her maternal grandfather was Dr Southwood Smith, a close associate of the Benthamite reformer Edwin Chadwick. Her mother, Caroline Hill, was secretary of the Ladies' Guild, an association for co-operative production, founded by the Christian Socialist Frederick Denison Maurice. Later, Octavia Hill herself became involved in another Christian Socialist experiment, when Maurice appointed her as secretary to the Working Women's Classes that were attached to the Working Men's College.[7] Already at a young age she became preoccupied with the degradation of her fellow human beings. Revisiting her childhood home in Russell Square, she described the awakening of her social conscience: 'There the first knowledge of misery and poverty came to me […] There I had sat and watched through the great windows, the London poor pass in rain and fog. There I sat and cried.'[8]

When the art critic and social reformer John Ruskin (1819–1900) visited the Ladies' Guild, he met Octavia Hill and offered to give her painting lessons; they became, certainly at first, close friends. After the death of his father in 1864, Ruskin inherited a considerable fortune. He decided to spend part of his money on a worthy social purpose; one of the recipients was Octavia Hill. She used the gift to start a housing project for the poor who, through regular contact between tenant and landlord, were to be educated to maintain decent standards of living. Eventually, this turned into an important operation, involving more than three thousand tenants.[9]

Soon, Hill was the 'leading spirit' of the COS and its 'science of charity', 'high-minded, strong-willed, often dictatorial, with calm certitude on her own role to lead the deprived to a better life and with firm ideas as to how it should be done'.[10] She developed the first training schemes for social workers associated with the project when it became necessary to delegate some of the rent-collecting duties. In her teaching she tried to convey 'how to unite the fresh, loving, spontaneous, individual sympathy with the quiet, grave, sustained and instructed spirit of the trained worker'. In the same period, Margaret Sewell, the warden of the Women's University Settlement in Southwark, had started to train her voluntary workers through lectures and classes. The two initiatives joined forces in 1890 and turned in 1903, under the auspices of the COS, into the School of Sociology which joined the London School of Economics in 1912 to become its Department of Social Science and Administration.[11]

Octavia Hill did not consider her tenants as simple objects of social research. She was 'scientific in the COS sense of the term: the belief that the well-being of the tenants depended upon the application of conscious, rational, systematic principles'. She explained these principles in her *Homes of the London Poor*, first published in 1875; they formed the core of 'social casework'. This social casework did not start with Octavia Hill and her collaborators at the COS. Their systematic use of it and their continuous insistence on the training of newcomers, however, transformed social casework into the main vehicle for the professionalization of social workers, not only in Great Britain, but also in the United States and several other countries.[12]

Paul Natorp and the idea of community

In 1844 a German educator by the name of Karl Mager coined the term 'Sozialpädagogik' (from the Greek *pais, paidos*, child). In the journal *Pädagogische Revue* which he edited from 1840 to 1848, Mager used this new term as an alternative for 'Collectivpädagogik' and in contrast to 'Individualpädagogik'. 'Socialpädagogik' was meant to be 'education in the community, for the community and by the community'.[13]

Eleven years before, in 1833, the German high-school teacher Alexander Kapp had proposed the word 'Andragogik' (Greek *aner, andros*, adult) in a book on Plato's educational system. The ideas of Kapp on the education of adults did not gain wide acceptance. On the contrary, they were heavily criticized by the formidable philosopher and pedagogue Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), the 'praeceptor Germaniae' of his time. Herbart argued that a child should be educated to become an autonomous personality; once an adult, a human being could only engage in self-education. The entry of 'andragogues' would only lead to general dependence and tutelage.[14] Following in Herbart's footsteps Mager, too, objected to the use of the term 'Andragogik', arguing that the element of 'guidance' (Greek *agoge*) should not be a determining one in the education of adults.[15]

After these attacks, the term 'Andragogik' virtually disappeared for a long period from the educational stage, whereas the concept of 'Sozialpädagogik' gained some popularity. It was used in 1850, for example, by Adolph Diesterweg (1790–1866), director of a college of education in Berlin, in the fourth edition of his well-known *Wegweiser zur Bildung für Deutsche Lehrer*

('Guidebook for the Education of German Teachers'). Until recently, Diesterweg was even seen as the creator of the term.[16] According to Diesterweg, only a secularized form of popular education, together with a re-education of adults and the elderly, could bring the lower classes back into the 'society of respectable citizens' and take away any 'thirst for revolution' which they might have. As far as the proletariat was concerned, Diesterweg did not distinguish between adolescents and adults, whereas such a distinction was essential in the educational doctrines which were constructed on behalf of the bourgeoisie. The threat of socio-economic struggles between classes was apparently considered to be far more dangerous than the conflicts between generations. Ironically, Diesterweg lost his job because of his 'social-communist and demagogic agitation' in the pre-revolutionary year of 1847. In fact, he can be seen as an early left-wing liberal who was deeply interested in the professionalization of teachers and who had organized their first independent association.[17]

Around the turn of the century, strong class antagonism with explosive tendencies determined the German political climate. At the end of his long political career, Bismarck could only answer the problems of his country by violence. After his fall in 1890, his successors were not able to provide better solutions. Against this dramatic backdrop a broad discussion on educational matters took place.[18]

The most important attempt to deliberate systematically over social pedagogy was undertaken by the philosopher, educator and composer Paul Natorp (1854–1924). In 1885 Natorp had obtained a professorship at the University of Marburg where he became a renowned neo-Kantian with great respect for Plato's idealism. Natorp called 'a concept of something that is not, but should be, an idea'. For him pedagogy was 'concrete philosophy'. The concept of education formed the basis of his pedagogical theories, and not empirical research.[19]

In 1887 Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936) had published his *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* ('Community and Society') in which he defined community as 'the permanent and real form of living together, while society is only transitory and apparent, and therefore community should be seen as a living organism and society as a mechanical aggregate and artefact'.[20] This idea of community became the leitmotiv of Natorp's *Sozialpädagogik: Theorie der Willenserziehung auf der Grundlage der Gemeinschaft* ('Social

Pedagogy: Theory of the education of the will on the basis of the community'), which he published in 1898. In his book he defined the object of social pedagogy as 'the social conditions of education and the educational conditions of social life'.[21] According to Natorp, atomization had made the German organism sick. For that reason he denounced the conservative, highly individualistic, character of the education of his time, and claimed that a human being could only come of age in a community. Strong communal sense was needed to fight not only Liberal egoism, but also Marxist class consciousness.

In Natorp's view, social pedagogy was not just a component of pedagogy, but 'education as such'. The education of children and adults had to contribute to bridging the gap between the rich and the poor, a gap that threatened the German nation as a community; the social question was essentially an educational question. This education had to take place successively in three environments, 'from the educating community of the household, through the national and uniform school, into the free self-education of adults of all social backgrounds'.[22] In his many publications Natorp developed a progressive educational doctrine: social pedagogy had to realize the moral idea of a true community which had become endangered by the capitalistic pursuit of profit and the existing social relations. In many ways his conceptions were shared by some of the contemporary Dutch liberals who were active in the fields of poor relief and popular education.[23]

Helene Mercier and the School of Social Work

At the end of the nineteenth century, progressive members of the Dutch bourgeoisie sought to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. They were shocked by the miserable situation of the proletariat and fearful of the economic and political consequences. The physical and intellectual state of the Dutch lower classes was so bad that already at that time Holland needed immigrant workers to provide skilled labour. The burgeoning capitalist system ran the risk of destroying itself. The work force which was indispensable for economic growth and which was now referred to by the liberal economist B. W. A. E. Sloet tot Oldhuis as 'our fellow-creatures and the honey-bees of the society', was threatened with extinction.[24] In 1870 left-wing liberals, among whom Arnold Kerdijk (1846–1905) was prominent, had formed a *Comité ter Bespreking der Sociale Quaestie* (Committee to discuss the Social Question). In 1886, Kerdijk decided to launch a *Sociaal Weekblad* ('Social Weekly').[25] This publication was to play a major part in discussions on poor relief and popular education.

Well-meaning volunteers who were engaged in charitable work could no longer cope with this dramatic state of affairs. The society *Liefdadigheid naar Vermogen* (Charity according to Ability), founded in 1871 by J. F. L. Blankenberg and two members of his family, was the first to introduce a new infrastructure for poor relief. In 1892 it applied the so-called Elberfeld system, the German version of Chalmers' Glasgow model, to Amsterdam. The city was divided into thirty-four districts, and more than five hundred people started visiting the poor. When a similar institution in Rotterdam announced that it intended to apply the same principles, the secretary of the Amsterdam society remarked: 'No wonder, because we both went to school in London.'[26]

It was not only the COS as such that was influential in the Netherlands. The many activities of Octavia Hill in particular aroused a great deal of interest and Helene Mercier (1839–1910), 'idealist par excellence and yet with both her feet on the ground', became the main propagator of her work.[27] In *Over Arbeiderswoningen* ('On Working-Class Houses') published in 1886, Helene Mercier described the horrible living conditions of the Amsterdam proletariat and paid attention to the work of Octavia Hill; her book became known as the Dutch counterpart of Hill's *Homes of the London Poor*. Two years later she wrote in the *Sociaal Weekblad* that her hope went out for 'a Dutch Ruskin and a Dutch Octavia Hill who would devote themselves to supervised housing projects'.[28] In 1893, Mercier managed to send a friend, Johanna ter Meulen, to London in order to work and study with Octavia Hill; in 1895 ter Meulen was followed by Louise Went. Later Went remembered

> so well how I visited for many days the London slums in her company, and how every day again I was struck by the way she met with her tenants; on complete equal terms, always friendly and interested, always radiant with warmth. Calmness and self-control never left her, not even in the most difficult circumstances, and she always acted with authority.[29]

In 1896, Helene Mercier's efforts resulted in the establishment of the *Bouwonderneming Jordaan* (Building Enterprise Jordaan). This housing project was funded by C. W. Janssen who owned plantations in the

Netherlands East Indies. Not everybody was happy with this new approach; for Catharina Alberdingk Thijm it seemed 'somewhat revolting when civilised and well-to-do ladies collect rent for capitalists'. For Johanna ter Meulen, however, 'supervision of working-class houses was a salaried occupation, eminently suitable for women'.[50]

Helene Mercier was not only active in the field of rent-collecting. Six years before, in 1890, she had published her translation of *Practicable Socialism* by S. A. Barnett and his wife Henrietta under the title *Uitvoerbaar Socialisme*. In 1892 she established, also with the help of the tobacco-planter Janssen, *Ons Huis* (Our Home) in Amsterdam, the first Dutch *volkshuis* (folk house) inspired by the example of Barnett's Toynbee Hall.

In a collection of articles published in 1897 under the title of *Sociale Schetsen* ('Social Sketches') Helene Mercier had written that middle-class women needed more knowledge about society in order to cross 'the threshold of social life' and to perform useful work on behalf of the lower classes. Her interest in 'scientific philanthropy' had been raised by her reading of the French sociologist Alfred Fouillée (1838–1912), in whose view society was too complex to be tampered with by amateurs. Octavia Hill's *Homes of the London Poor* was seen by her as an example of this 'scientific philanthropy'.[51] Marie Muller-Lulofs (1854–1954), who at that time was making plans to start professional training for poor relief and popular education, considered Mercier's article 'Op den drempel van het sociale leven' ('On the threshold of social life') to be 'an inspiring driving force' for her initiative; the Women's University Settlement in Southwark served as her practical model.[52] Together with Muller-Lulofs, Janssen and Went, Mercier formed a committee to lay the groundwork for the new institution.

The establishment of a *School voor Maatschappelijk Werk* (School of Social Work) in Amsterdam in 1899 was a landmark for the emancipation of women. It was also an important step towards the professionalization of the predominantly female social workers. In the *Sociaal Weekblad* of 22 April 1899 Kerdijk referred to this fact when he wrote:

> In order to meet the requirements, it is indispensable for social work to be efficiently and seriously prepared; such preparation must have in part a scientific character, because what matters are general sociological knowledge and familiarity with the pertinent legislation, and the examination of various

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> problems in a historical context; but this preparation must also be practical, consisting of participating in the chosen life-task under expert guidance.[33]

Contrary to the present use of the term, in the Netherlands the notion of 'social work' not only meant public assistance, but also popular education. Although it was not the earliest institute of its kind in the world, as is often maintained, the *School voor Maatschappelijk Werk* was certainly the first school which offered a complete curriculum. The theoretical subjects included history, economics, law, ethics, psychology, sociology and pedagogy. At first, the daytime courses were given in an room of Ons Huis, while the evening program took place in a lecture hall provided by the University of Amsterdam. After three years of study, diplomas were offered in 'supervision of working-class houses', public assistance, 'Toynbee-work' and 'library-work'. From its foundation, the School of Social Work was engaged in the entire gamut of activities that many years later fell under the heading of andragogy.[34]

Carl Mennicke and the dissemination of social pedagogy

During the Nazi era German social pedagogy became, under the influence of Ernst Krieck and his 'Nationalpolitische Erziehung' (national-political education), a totalitarian kind of education, based on irrationalism.[35] After the First World War, however, another 'socio-pedagogical movement' of an entirely different character had come into being, aimed only at youth. According to this movement, it was not the badly educated young who were a menace to the community. Rather, it was the other way around: youth had to be protected against society. Seen from this angle, social pedagogy was a distinct component of education, a field with its own activities. As a result, an early form of youth welfare work became the first task of social pedagogy in Germany.[36]

At that time social pedagogy was barely subjected to theoretical scrutiny in the Netherlands. In 1919 Philip Kohnstamm (1875–1951) had discussed the work of Natorp in his inaugural address as professor of education, a chair established by the venerable *Maatschappij tot Nut van het Algemeen* (Society for the Common Benefit). He denounced, however, Natorp's social pedagogy as education 'by the state for the state', and gave preference to a 'personalist' pedagogy, which tried to transcend the antithesis of individual and community.[37] Otherwise, social pedagogy as an academic discipline remained for a large part outside the ivory towers of the Dutch universities. Two exceptions could only prove this rule.

One exception was the appointment of Carl Mennicke (1887–1959). This German philosopher and educator joined the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Frankfurt in 1930. After the assumption of power by the Nazis in 1933 Mennicke emigrated to the Netherlands, where he became director of the International School of Philosophy in Amersfoort. From 1934 he was also an unsalaried lecturer in the theory and the history of social pedagogy at the University of Amsterdam. From this rather modest position he tried to disseminate the theories of, among others, his former fellow-countryman Paul Natorp.[38] For Mennicke social pedagogy was above all a normative doctrine, directed at the realization of the idea of community. In his *Sociale Pedagogie: Grondslagen, vormen en middelen der gemeenschapsopvoeding* ('Social Pedagogy: Foundations, forms and means of community education'), he stated that 'the goal of social pedagogy is to prepare the individual for a life in a community'.[39] Under the heading of 'socio-pedagogical forms of popular education', Mennicke paid a great deal of attention to the *volkshogeschool* (folk high school).

The emergence of the *volkshogeschool* in the Netherlands has to be seen in the light of the growing division of the Dutch population into separate 'pillars'. The metaphor of 'four pillars supported by the four ideologies among the Dutch people' referred to the fact that the diverse liberal, Protestant, Catholic and socialist perspectives had each given rise to distinct organizational structures, covering many areas of social life.[40] A debate is still going on regarding the origin of this 'pillarization'. There are those who associate the term 'pillar' with the 'school struggle' which originated in the early nineteenth century when Catholics and Calvinists fought for the right to their own schools with a denominational identity. For others, the phenomenon dates from a much earlier period. They locate the roots of the Catholic, Protestant and liberal pillars as far back as the Eighty Years War against Spain (1568–1648), and the struggle between Catholicism, the Reformation and humanism which ended with the formation of an independent Dutch nation.[41]

Whatever the origin of this process, the result was that each ideological group not only wished to have its own political party and trade union, but also its own press, schools and institutions for poor relief and popular education that could ensure the mobilization of its constituency. In order to provide some counter-balance to this 'disunity', a *Vereniging tot Stichting van Volkshogescholen* (Association for the Establishment of Folk High Schools) was created in 1931, inspired by the Danish model of Nikolai Grundtvig and the German example of Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. The statutes described the goal of the Association as 'the moral and spiritual education of adults as a basis for the renewal of popular culture and the strengthening of the sense of community'.[42]

As a 'socio-pedagogical form of industrial pedagogy', Mennicke envisaged vocational counselling.[43] This field provided the second link between social pedagogy and Dutch academe. In 1920, a Social Pedagogic Institute had been established at the University of Groningen. The funding of this institute came from a donation by the progressive liberal D. Bos, who had stipulated that the money should be used 'for undertaking and supporting social pedagogic work to promote the free development of the people in the widest sense of the word'. In fact, the main task of the institute was the use of psychotechnics for vocational counselling.[44] The director of the Bos foundation was H. J. F. W. Brugmans (1884–1961), then lecturer in pedagogy. In his speech at the opening ceremony of the institute, Brugmans stated that social pedagogy considered a human being above all as a member of a community. He warned, however 'against an extreme point of view in which the rights of the individual could be endangered [...] The creation of an institute for vocational guidance was a social-pedagogic achievement. The interests of the individual and the community go hand in hand.'[45]

Early Dutch social pedagogy became torn between two directions. On the one hand, specific and concrete tasks in the field of public assistance and popular education were formulated. On the other hand, the general and abstract idea of a true community was being propagated. The work of Mennicke was a clear reflection of this dilemma.

Tonko ten Have and the invention of Dutch andragogy

As a university discipline, social pedagogy received its first real opportunity to develop after the Second World War, with the advent of the modern welfare state. The scientific basis for the welfare state was laid in the form of a new Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at the (Municipal) University of Amsterdam. This faculty was not only intended for the formation of new leadership in public service and private enterprise, but also for the professional training of those who were to become active in the higher echelons of social work and adult education. When the plan for this new faculty was made public, the City Council of Amsterdam and the Dutch ministers of Social Affairs and of Education had already given their approval. At the same time, the by then numerous Schools of Social Work had conveyed their message that they needed 'scientific study and the education of experts' to support their training efforts.[46]

In 1950 Tonko ten Have (1906–1975), a psychologist who had studied at the University of Groningen, was appointed to the new chair of 'the foundations of social pedagogy' at the University of Amsterdam. For ten Have this was not the first acquaintance with social pedagogy; for several years he had worked as an assistant of Brugmans at the Bos Foundation in Groningen. In his inaugural address ten Have situated social pedagogy again between an individualistic and a collectivistic education. Within the area of social pedagogy, he went on to confront American pragmatism with Natorp's interpretation of Plato's doctrine of virtues. In conclusion he made a plea for social pedagogy which 'has to reinforce in every person the virtue of social justice' in order to reach an equilibrium between the individual and the community, between freedom and restraint.[47] His first involvement with the theory of social pedagogy echoed also some of the 'personalist' convictions of Kohnstamm who had played an important role in the preparation of the new faculty, which he envisaged as an opportunity for the postgraduate professional training of already experienced social workers and adult educators. During the next ten years ten Have built up his department and worked at a blueprint of an academic social pedagogy.

Thanks to indigenous efforts and to the assistance provided by the USA within the framework of the Marshall Plan, the reconstruction of the Netherlands was successfully accomplished. The emerging welfare state attempted to help those who did not benefit directly from the economic upturn. Social and educational activities were viewed as modest but essential parts of the total package of services that should provide welfare 'from the cradle to the grave'. Together with the economic aid of the Marshall Plan, American ideas in the field of social work and adult education were imported. A modernized version of social casework became the predominant approach in public assistance. 'Group dynamics' were applied in adult education; a traditional preference for the German notion of *Bildung* (liberal education), however, kept American pragmatism at some distance in this field.[48]

In the meantime, the term 'Andragogik' had known a modest revival, mainly in the German language. In 1926 the sociologist and social pedagogue Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy had made a distinction between 'Pädagogik', 'Andragogik' and 'Demagogik'.[49] This was the same Rosenstock-Huessy who had been so influential in the founding of the first folk high schools in the Netherlands.

In 1951, the Swiss remedial educator Hanselmann published his *Andragogik: Wesen, Möglichkeiten, Grenzen der Erwachsenenbildung* ('Andragogy: Essence, possibilities, limits of adult education'). In line with his profession, Hanselmann considered andragogy as 'in the first place, an all-round support of the adult in his pursuit of self-education [...] and in the second place the resuscitation of this pursuit when it has been led astray'. This book was followed in 1957 by Pöggeler's *Einführung in die Andragogik: Grundfragen der Erwachsenenbildung* ('Introduction to Andragogy: Basic questions of adult education').[50]

Ten Have laid the theoretical foundation for the scientific study of social pedagogy in 1960 in a major article which he published in the periodical *Volksopvoeding* ('Popular Education').[51] A few years later, however, the reintroduction of 'Andragogik' by Hanselmann and Pöggeler made ten Have decide to replace the term 'social pedagogy' with 'andragogy' when adults were concerned. In fact, ten Have proposed three different terms:

1. 'Andragogie' (andragogy) should be used for the actual practice of social work and adult education;
2. 'Andragogiek' (andragogic) should refer to a normative theory on behalf of the art of social work and adult education;
3. 'Andragologie' (andragology) should denote the science (Greek *logos*) of social work and adult education (as in psychology or sociology).

Until after the Second World War, normative theories were the only specimens of theory formation in the fields of social work and adult education. In the 1960s, during the heyday of 'modern', neo-positivist psychology and sociology in the Netherlands, 'andragology' was supposed to function as a 'value-free' discipline.[52] The distinction between 'andragology' and 'andragogics' made it possible for ten Have to combine within the same conceptual framework descriptive theories that were based on scientific research, and normative theories founded on philosophical reflection. In this way he tried to bring together the Anglo-American tradition of social work with its emphasis on quantitative empiricism and individual methods as it had originally been represented by Octavia Hill, and the German tradition of adult education with its emphasis on qualitative idealism and communal goals which had originally been elaborated by Paul Natorp.

For some years the context of the Dutch welfare state provided a favourable climate for integration of social work and adult education under the heading of 'andragogy'. On the one hand, a Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work was established in 1965 and an overall welfare policy began to take shape. On the other hand, the system of pillarization had not only brought about an explosive growth in welfare work but had also changed its character. Every social group of any significance demanded the right to financial support, and the state was merely expected to distribute subsidies on the basis of objective criteria. An obvious criterion was the degree of expertise which would ensure that the money was not wasted. Andragogy was seen as a vehicle to educate the required professionals.

In his search for a new science, ten Have was greatly influenced by American publications on 'planned change'. The *Dynamics of Planned Change* by Lippitt, Watson and Westley served for a long time as a main textbook of the new curriculum. In many ways ten Have followed their example when they stated: 'Not only is the number of professional helpers increasing very rapidly, but the specialised skills and techniques presented for our consideration offer extraordinary variety. What we attempt in this book is to clarify and compare these many different skills and theories, to look for contrasts and similarities among them, and to assist in the development of a general theory of change.'[53] At the same time, the study programme could be seen as a rather curious mixture of diverse tendencies. Next to the highly behaviouristic theory of planned change, students were confronted with the German tradition of philosophical psychology and personalist anthropology which could be found in the work of, for example, Philipp Lersch. In *Aufbau der Person* ('Construction of the Person'), the second main textbook of ten Have's curriculum, Lersch searched for the 'idea of man' and 'the laws of meaning which are immanent in the life of the soul with regard to the position of human beings in the world'.[54]

Ten Have's efforts to invent a new framework which would bring together the different notions, methods and strategies of social work and adult education were, of course, followed with great interest by the Schools of Social Work. In 1959 these Schools became 'Social (and in some cases also Cultural) Academies', a clear symbol of professional pride. As a result of professional striving, socio-cultural acceptance and governmental support, a new Department of Andragogy was founded in 1966 at the University of Amsterdam, next to a restructured Department of Pedagogy. In 1970 a Royal Decree amended the Academic Law and authorized the study of andragogy at every Dutch university. In the accompanying explanatory memorandum, andragogy was defined as the 'professional assistance to and education of adults'. In the same text, which was mostly written by ten Have, the connection was made between andragogy as a social science and four areas of social and educational activities. Social work and adult education were mentioned in the first place. Then followed personnel management, a combination of social work and training of adults within an organization. Community development completed the picture, preserving the idea of community, but with a strong pragmatic flavour. It was intended to co-ordinate the activities of social work and adult education.[55]

Epilogue

The young science was immediately popular. Students came flocking to the new departments, and the government was willing to provide the required funds. The all too rapid recognition of andragogy as an autonomous discipline and its immediate popularity with students, however, proved to be a severe handicap. The lack of a disciplinary tradition, specifically trained faculty, and sufficient textbooks had resulted in a faceless curriculum. In a way, everybody was free to pursue his or her own original discipline or subject-matter, and call it 'andragogy'.

In the mid 1970s the edifice of the Dutch welfare state began to show many fissures. A major economic crisis and a changing socio-cultural climate put an end to the belief in a 'planned society'. The welfare state was transformed into a 'caring community', with volunteers taking the place of professionals. To an increasing extent the remaining professionals working in the fields of social work and adult education went their separate ways. Each sought shelter under the umbrella of the so-called 'hard' institutions that were less threatened by financial cuts. Social work went looking for help from the traditional world of medicine. Adult education moved in the direction of regular primary, secondary and higher education, and vocational training, where the quest for diplomas and certificates is predominant.[56]

The more established social sciences with their disciplinary identities, professional associations, refereed journals and international contacts, offered a relatively safer home than a newcomer like andragogy, which in the meanwhile had weakened its own cause by a decade of internal ideological strife, mainly between American neo-Positivism and German neo-Marxism. A new amendment to the Academic Law, issued in 1985, deprived Dutch andragogy of its recently acquired status as an autonomous discipline. What remained of it was sent back to pedagogy.[57]

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7

Fifty Years of an Educational Mission: The 'Tutorial Class' movement in Anglo-German perspective

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Between July 1918 and March 1919 there took place in London a series of meetings which led to the formation of a so-called World Association for Adult Education. Immediately it had been set up this association began to publish a *Bulletin* to further its aims. The first number of the periodical was simply a statement of origins, purposes and constitution; the second, which appeared in November 1919, was made over entirely to 'The University Tutorial Class Movement'. Whilst ostensibly providing information on developments in England, this report was in effect a pastoral letter to the world. It included an appendix, entitled 'Application to other countries', which reasoned that if the English movement was working 'in correspondence with principles common to all men at all times' then equivalents of the tutorial class must appear in other countries. Furthermore:

> The equal partnership between labour and scholarship is a vital condition of success, it would seem, everywhere. It may be, however, that at any given moment either labour bodies or Universities may refuse co-operation or not be in the state of mind to exercise it without restraint. Then the organisation would of necessity differ (only temporarily, it is hoped) from that of England.[1]

It would have been reasonable to suggest that the adult education movements of different countries might have something to learn from one another, but here was a quite astonishing claim by one national interest to have come into possession of a cultural universal. The claim, to be repeated through the strangest twists of fate right up to the 1950s, was put to the test, in the context of Anglo-German relations, in three different ways at three different times; on that intermittent history, and the questions of cross-cultural sensibility and awareness which it suggests, this chapter bases itself.

The idea of 'tutorial' teaching in English adult education can be said to have originated in the 1890s. But it was only in 1908–09 that anything significant was undertaken—when the University of Oxford joined with the Workers' Educational Association (WEA, founded 1903), and set an unprecedented example by entering into partnership with 'representatives of labour' to provide adult education adapted to working-class needs and demands.[2] Other universities followed, and the 'tutorial class' experiment soon spread across the country. Its leadership was anxious to present it as a double advance on the older system of university extension. First it required a joint method of organization: demand mobilized by volunteers from or close to the working class, and able to exploit the spontaneous interest in education among their fellows; supply supervised by the universities acting in close consultation with the voluntary wing. Secondly the experiment involved a novel form of instruction: each local band of students pledged loyalty as a 'university tutorial class', a relatively small group selecting its own syllabus and leader from the university-approved lists, forming a friendly but purposive relationship with the chosen tutor, and then working seriously for a period of two (subsequently three) years towards a high standard of academic attainment. These defining features of the new workers' university immediately acquired great practical and symbolic importance.

The experiment soon attracted the attention of German writers. Some failed to appreciate its novelty, treating 'tutorial' work as simply a variant on traditional extension teaching. Two more perceptive observers of the younger generation were Anton Sandhagen and Werner Picht,[3] both of whom sensed the relevance of the tutorial class to the demand already evident in their own country for a more intensive approach to popular education. Unfortunately their efforts were deflected by the outbreak of war.

Meanwhile the English movement was acquiring an Imperial scope. By 1915 propaganda for the WEA and its tutorial-class method had spread through the white Dominions—Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa. This pseudo-internationalism would later provide the impetus for the World Association for Adult Education, which emerged directly from the work of Britain and the Empire (with some acknowledgement of United States experience) in providing adult education for their troops during the latter part of the war and in the early phase of demobilization.

Weimar: eine neue Sachlichkeit[4]

From 1917 Germany witnessed a flow of initiatives in adult education, swelling into the so-called *Volkshochschulrummel* of 1919–21, and amidst the excitement a number of German authors began to write about English adult education again and to ask whether it offered any lessons for the future in their own country. In 1919 Alfred Menzel, for example, rejected the Danish model of the 'folk high school' and argued that the German *Volkshochschule* (*VHS*) should evolve out of university extension, just as had happened in England; there the tutorial class had established itself as one of the 'standard forms' of the people's university, and it was the one appropriate for Germany. Another figure of that period, Hermann Bräuning, had been interned in Britain throughout the war and in the prison-camps of the Isle of Man had experimented with classes based on the WEA's 'tutorial' method. After returning to Germany early in 1919, Bräuning lectured on English workers' education and its significance for Germany. In his published work he denied any wish simply to imitate; yet his sketch for a *VHS* constitution showed much similarity to what went on in a WEA branch.[5]

In 1919 Picht reissued parts of his pre-war study of the settlement movement. There he had dealt with the failings of university extension, and the WEA's creation of an alternative, and this material now reappeared as *Universitäts-Ausdehnung und Volkshochschul-Bewegung in England*. (Picht had intended to dedicate his new book to Albert Mansbridge, founder of the WEA, but amidst the storm surrounding the Versailles peace negotiations decided on greater discretion.)[6] The title seems programmatic, suggesting an analogy between the folk high school and the tutorial class system, and thus an opportunity for cultural borrowing. The same idea was evident in Picht's *Die deutsche Volkshochschule der Zukunft*, also issued in 1919; this manifesto was written in the depths of the 'national catastrophe', but its author still felt able to argue that the WEA example was suggestive for the future of German adult education.[7] In 1919/20 *Die Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, the periodical which Picht edited, printed in German translation extracts from Mansbridge's pre-war book on *University Tutorial Classes*.

Picht's collaborator and doyen of the 'New Direction', Robert von Erdberg, took up the theme. His piece of 1919 on 'Das freie Volksbildungswesen im neuen Deutschland' remains a thought-provoking essay on the attractions and limitations of cultural borrowing.[8] At the time, Leopold von Wiese's great handbook on the sociology of adult education identified Picht and Erdberg as the chief exponents of the idea that a special method of intensive teaching-and-learning, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, was the key to developing the new folk high schools,[9] and there seems little doubt that the English tutorial-class example contributed to their thinking. Picht was to claim in 1936 that the example had been decisive, even though profound modifications were made in acclimatizing it to German conditions.[10]

Subsequently there were to be claims that the English Tutorial Class was 'the direct progenitor of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft'.[11] Since this chapter is concerned with assumptions and images, it need not tussle with the problem of the historical origins of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. It is worth noting, though, that Herman Kranold, also writing in 1936, claimed that intensive study-group methods had been a feature of the students-and-workers educational movement of the early years of the twentieth century, some time before the WEA was much talked about in Germany.[12]

Picht and Erdberg felt an affinity for the English approach because one of their aims was to bring the universities into popular education. Erdberg declared his admiration for a movement which came out of Labour but sought to sustain a connection with 'the leading intellectual parts of the nation', by which he meant the Universities and the Churches.[13] He and Picht shared attitudes not unlike the participatory and evolutionary élitism of the 'Mansbridge tendency' in English adult education. None of them was proposing that the lower orders could generate a new culture unaided—and some years later during a World Association conference on the education of industrial workers Erdberg protested that 'however great the antagonism between worker and bourgeoisie, no new social order could be formed which was not based on existing culture'.[14]

As officials of the Prussian education ministry Erdberg and Picht tried, with only limited success, to secure a university contribution to popular education. The debate over the social obligations of the educated élite had flickered into life again during the post-war upheaval. Max Scheler, an academic philosopher and supporter of people's colleges, paid tribute in 1921 to the exemplary quality of the WEA–University partnership. As late as 1926 the ageing Georg Kerschensteiner could still write admiringly of the link in England between adult and higher education, and of the tutorial class as a form of intensive education adapted to the needs of mature learners.[15]

Kerschensteiner's view was already obsolete of course, for it was clear that the German universities would prefer to remain aloof. By 1926 adult educators were prepared to accept—even to welcome—their distance from the universities, in the confidence—if rather agonized confidence—of a vigorous adult education movement evolving on its own terms. In any case *freie Volksbildung* had a different model on which to draw, that of the youth movement, with its refusal to accept that mental abstraction could nourish of personality development. (And thus emerged a highly intellectualized culture of non-intellectualism in German adult education.)

There was, nevertheless, a view available to German specialists that the tutorial class was England's equivalent of the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft*. Did the comparison stand the test of experience? An early hint of criticism came in 1922 from Sandhagen, still well informed, but apparently having outgrown youthful enthusiasm.[16] He questioned whether the tutorial-class system could actually deliver what it claimed to deliver, that is 'university standards' within a 'democratic' method of organization. The didactic structure of a tutorial meeting was, he suggested, usually rather unsophisticated: an hour of stilted lecturing followed by an hour of shapeless discussion. This he compared unfavourably with 'einer wirklichen Arbeitsgemeinschaft', though unfortunately without clarifying what he meant by 'a genuine study group'.

Criticisms multiplied as the practice of study-visiting between the two countries revived after the mid 1920s. Bernhard Merten, director of the *VHS* Freiburg im Breisgau, came to England in 1924 and produced a report which was not at all deferential. He found in current English practice obvious vestiges of the 'Old Direction': too much reliance on lecturing, too little discrimination in the selection of content, and among the educated classes a persisting confusion of information-transfer with true education. In good *Neue Richtung* style he suggested that this was to deceive the workers by perpetuating the worn-out slogan of 'knowledge is power'. Among the leading figures he met in England there was insufficient appreciation of the special problems of dealing (as he put it) with the fully formed, and often mis-formed, 'life substance' of the adult personality. Furthermore: 'ein wirkliches Ringen um jene anpassungsbereite und -fähige, auf den Schüler stark eingehende, anregende, bald lösend, bald spannend wirkende und bei alledem sachliche und streng disziplinierte Form des Unterrichts, die wir mit dem Wort "Arbeitsgemeinschaft" meinen, habe ich nicht wahrgenommen.' [German quotations are translated in the corresponding endnotes.][17] So, for all they congratulated themselves on having invented modern 'adult education' the English were not seen to excel as practitioners of the intensive approach. But also, the perfervid language of Merten's report reveals the enormously high expectations the Germans were then attaching to their own 'intensive' work—part of the tragi-comedy, as some later historians seem to understand it, of adult education in the Weimar period.[18]

Eugen Rosenstock, reporting his visit to England of 1925, described the tutorial-class system as 'eine bewunderungswürdige Einrichtung' and declined to criticize his hosts' methods.[19] Gertrud Hermes, who came from Leipzig the following year, was less polite. In a brief report to the German Group of the World Association for Adult Education she commented: 'Was dem theoretisch gearteten deutschen Besucher stark in die Augen fällt, ist die untheoretisch-unbefangene Art des Engländers, die sich auch im Volksbildungswesen durchsetzt.'[20] There were compensatory advantages: this absence of theoretical preoccupations fostered an obliging, undogmatic approach, even in confessional and party-political schools for adults, and that was a revelation to a foreign visitor. Hermes also acknowledged the organizational solidity achieved through the methods of voluntary association and the emphasis on self-government; here the English movement was well in advance of the *Volkshochschul-Bewegung*. Considered strictly as pedagogy, however, adult classes in England were not impressive: Hermes concluded that the technique of teaching adults was no better appreciated than the theory. There was little grasp of how to encourage personality development through an appeal to the learner's central life-interests, and the devices basic to the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* were neither exploited nor understood. These criticisms Hermes repeated in a subsequent book which she entitled *Die geistige Grundlagen der englischen Erwachsenenbildung*.[21]

There is a wry entertainment to be had from seeing English adult education forced on to the defensive. The first, somewhat oblique reaction came from Eric Patterson, head of the Exeter University College extra-mural department, who made a study visit to Germany during 1927. Evidently sensitive to Hermes' challenge, he reported that German practice in teaching did not match German theorizing. The residential colleges were indeed notable for their sensitive and student-centred methods, but the evening folk high schools provided some examples of very authoritarian instruction.[22] Robert Peers, the senior academic figure in English adult education, attacked Hermes directly, in an almost brutally critical review for *Freie Volksbildung* which catalogued her inaccuracies and misunderstandings.[23] The editor of the journal felt obliged to add a note of defence, pointing out that Hermes had offered interpretation beyond the mere presentation of facts, something which was justifiable and valuable in its own right. And he published in a subsequent number a more measured and sympathetic review, by Karl Küssner, 'a German familiar with conditions in England'. Küssner insisted that Hermes' comparison of classroom methods in the two countries was a significant contribution.[24]

There was reason perhaps for Peers to feel sensitive. In the very first number of the newly-founded *Journal of Adult Education*, the socialist intellectual Harold Laski had argued that it was time for adult education in England to pass out of its condition of 'romantic and, in general, uncritical enthusiasm' and enter a phase of 'detailed and increasingly exact analysis'; he also alleged that there had been 'astonishingly little advance in the technique of our teaching in recent years'. That was somewhat at odds with Peers' claim in the same inaugural number of the *Journal* that the tutorial class marked 'a great step forward in the technique of adult education'.[25] And now Peers found his optimistic view of progress challenged by an outsider from Germany. The positive part of his response was that progress was outstripping any information available in print, and that only a person with close working knowledge of the English situation was able to form an accurate judgement. The tutorial class continued to throw up new variants, and teaching, especially in social studies, was being transformed—but English tutors were too busy making progress to have time to write about it.

It is unlikely that a really vigorous innovatory movement in teaching would have failed to register itself in print. The entries in Thomas Kelly's first *Select Bibliography of Adult Education*[26] suggest how limited—and how stubbornly untheoretical—treatment of socio-psychological and methodological issues was among English specialists then (and thereafter, for that matter). The small amount of work produced on 'method' seems to have proceeded from the assumption that if anything was problematical it was the 'syllabus' rather than the processes of teaching or learning. In effect, conventional practice was probably rather what German visitors said it was.

Hermes argued that, while the English tutorial class had been an important advance, momentum had not been maintained. Some tutors showed an instinctive appreciation of intensive work, but in their teaching did not approach the genuinely *arbeitsgemeinschaftlich*. Standard practice was still the lecture-plus-discussion. (I note here in passing that Sidney Raybould, one of my predecessors at the University of Leeds, who began tutorial-class teaching in the early 1930s, recalled that 'it seemed to be taken for granted that the first hour of each meeting would be devoted to a lecture by the tutor, and the second to students' questions and discussion'.)[27]

According to Hermes, the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* was quite different, a period of instruction which the leader

> als didaktische Einheit so aufbaut, daß eine geschlossene Gedankenfolge nach einem vorher entworfenen Plan des Lehrers gesprächweise entwickelt wird. Dabei wird der Verlauf des Gespräches dem Lehrer oftmals Veranlassung geben, seinen ursprünglichen Plan zu ändern, so daß als Ergebnis der Arbeitsgemeinschaft eine durchaus neue, in gemeinsamer Arbeit gewonnene Erkenntnis erscheint.[28]

The contrast, simply as preserved in the printed word, seems to dissolve into a distinction without much of a difference. But clearly there was something at stake here, and a sense of the confrontation emerges from a report by Virginia Coit, the last English tutor to visit Germany under the official auspices of the World Association for Adult Education. In 1931 she found the atmosphere of intense professional debate in Germany rather alien, indeed verging on the ridiculous, but as for the actual practice:

> The straight lecture form, even as a prelude to discussion, is generally discredited. The idea that the students must participate actively from beginning to end, really grasping all that is talked of, and that the teachers need to keep in closest possible touch with them, underlies all the proceedings.

Without naming them as such, Coit identified the two principles which guided the highly effective teaching she observed in all the places visited. *Erlebnisnähe* (closeness to real experience) required that 'Wherever possible a problem is approached from some point at which the students can bring their own experience to bear, and the subject, so far is possible, is developed in conversation.' The *Gestalt* (integrated pattern) way of engaging with culture produced 'a violent reaction against specialisation and a striving after an all-round survey; an attempt to see all the aspects of public and private life and all the studies connected with them in relation to one another.'[29]

It was exactly these principles that provided the framework of Hermes' earlier criticism, and of a similar evaluation by Marie Hoerner, who studied residential adult education in England and Wales during 1928. According to Hermes the programme of adult education in England was organized for the most part by subject categories, and the subjects were constrained by an historical mode of presentation. In Germany all this had given way to a more vital and psychologically realistic orientation. Hoerner's judgements were similar; she found cause also to attack another sacred cow in the tutorial meadow—written work. This composing of individual papers and essays, she suggested, might develop skills useful for service in the labour movement, but it eroded even further the basis of 'learning in community'.[30]

The dominant impression of the period is of two culturally fixated doctrines of adult education running uncomprehendingly past each other. The cause of incomprehension is plain. English dependence on 'historical' exposition and on 'subjects' was a consequence of wanting to give students 'the best', where that was taken to be something which only 'the university' could provide. The modernists of German adult education did not find their inspiration in academic culture, they were in 'radikaler Abkehr von den herkömmlichen Abstraktionen der Universitätslehren in Sachen Philosophie, Wirtschaft, Geschichte, Seele, Staat'.[31] Underlying the contrast were two very different sets of cultural assumptions about the relationship of academics to their parent society.[32] And another difference, which merits further comparative study, lay in views of how adult education might realize such abstractions as 'democracy' and 'fellowship'.[33]

Coit's report was the last significant piece about German adult education to appear in English before National Socialism removed the topic from the cross-cultural agenda. The debate about the implementation of education for adults would not be resumed until the autumn of 1945/46, and then within a grotesquely altered relationship between the two countries.

The British in Germany 1945–55

During the Second World War there had been in the West an inconclusive debate about the need to 're-educate' the Germans. The idea received an extra fillip from the Potsdam agreement of August 1945, which seemed to demand that the defeated enemy be taught to adopt a democratic way of life.

'Re-education' (as it now officially became for a time), had it not proved so elusive in practice, would count as the most ambitious, presumptuous project of adult education ever conceived.

During 1945–46 the British did take it seriously, and included institutional adult education in their programme. But in the absence of any real forward-planning, practice simply evolved as the occupation went along—usually in response to what acceptable co-workers on the German side were proposing, but also as a side-effect of bigger developments on the world stage. Nevertheless, there were threads of consistency, very relevant to this chapter, and marked by an assumption that English adult education could offer examples crucially relevant to the German post-war situation and problem.

As early as September 1945 the military government in the British Zone issued instructions that local, representative committees were to be established for the encouragement of *Volkshochschulen* and for the supervision of adult education generally. In his treatment of the earliest initiatives Hasenpusch perhaps places too much emphasis on the contribution of 'non-guilty' Germans,[34] but it is true that the British could not have achieved anything without extensive delegation to civilians. An inaugural conference for the Zone, held in the spring of 1946, received the proposed lines of development. The recipe—*freie Volksbildung* as it had been before 1933, with extra ingredients of pluralist democracy—seems to have been mixed so as to be acceptable to both the emerging German leadership and the representatives of Education Branch in the British Control Commission.[35] In effect the decision was already being taken to give the Germans responsibility, under the prodding of British advisers of course, for their own reconstruction in the adult education sector. The result was that adult education soon re-established itself in determinedly German fashion, and not altogether as the 're-educators' would have wished. (It was later acknowledged, for example, that the area committees were more or less a total failure.)[36]

Meanwhile in the realms of British public opinion, 're-education' had become a rather contentious issue, and there was disquiet about how the occupation generally was being conducted. In September 1946 Education Branch was asked to state how a more decisive impression could be made on the collective mind of the former enemy. The resulting 'Recommended Policy for Re-Education in Germany' proposed a more positive approach, with much emphasis on work among adults. Visiting lecturers would be recruited to help 'combat the ignorance of the German people', and professional visits to and exchanges with other countries systematically encouraged. An informal education scheme was mooted for Germans under thirty, to be based on a publicly incorporated 'Bureau of Education in Citizenship'—an attempt to 'export' directly the methods of the very successful British wartime 'Army Bureau of Current Affairs',[37] which itself had borne the impress of civil and civic adult-education thinking.

Events soon showed that the citizenship scheme had no future. At the beginning of 1947, for reasons of the highest political and economic import, and totally dissociated from the project of 're-educating' Germany, the *Länder* of the British Zone were brought into constitutional existence, and were given extensive responsibility for educational and cultural affairs. The Control Commission now explicitly redefined the task: the policy became one of 'educational reconstruction', to be pursued, not through 'control', but through advice-giving and application of good outside influences. Adult education remained an obvious focus. In this way parts of the 'Recommended Policy' were adapted to suddenly-altered circumstances, and something of the more optimistic content of 're-education' doctrine was salvaged.[38]

Attempts to exert influence over German adult education involved risk of conflict, but for clear examples of that one has to look to the United States Zone. Once the Americans had decided to remain in Europe, they were free to act on their latent belief that recent history had shown European social institutions generally to be discredited. As a result the US authorities became evangelical in matters of educational reform. The outcomes were not altogether happy, and some of their initiatives and methods were regarded as inappropriate, even manipulative, by many on the German side.[39] In contrast the British were more subtle, pragmatic, or merely confused—historians have taken comfort variously in all three interpretations. Yet they did cling to 're-education' in some sense, and the thread of continuity extended into the altered situation of 1947 and beyond.

There was no lack of 'expert opinion' on what the Germans needed, and so the specific topic of this chapter was given a new lease of life, though largely, it turned out, as an exercise in high-minded rhetoric. Once again the custodians of the English 'movement' (and despite the involvement of Scots on the ground one has to view it as an English affair) had a chance to present what they thought of as their uniquely adult, educative and socially purposive approach to adult education. In the spring of 1946 a small party of HMI were invited to look at adult education in the Zone and Berlin, and a little over a year later were followed by a party of prominent adult education professionals. In the reports which resulted everyone acknowledged that in Germany the *Volkshochschule* held a distinctive position, but Education Branch was also reminded of the special and necessary contribution of the universities and the voluntary movement to democratic adult education—the English extra-mural/WEA theme clearly stated.[40] In a coincidental, but reminiscent echo of the quotation with which this chapter began, one of these documents concluded that there must be 'necessary principles of free adult education' which would apply in any country regardless of the detailed local implementation, and on that basis the British and the Germans would be able to co-operate. (The impression was also conveyed that the British had the better grasp of necessary principle, for example in their respect for student self-determination and liberal education.)

Among educationists there was a feeling that much time and patient effort would be needed to teach the Germans to mend their ways. Adult education was one area in which the programme was pursued, but for practical reasons devolution was unavoidable, and the results were not always welcome. The conduct of the second zonal conference of 1946 displeased officialdom and there was sharp criticism of what were seen as German formalistic, abstract tendencies. The revived *Volkshochschulen* excited similar complaints. Visiting experts in 1946 and 1947 complained of student passivity, escapism, emotionalism and intellectualism. Some of these accusations were openly repeated in Education Branch's guidebook, the *Brief for Official Visitors*.[41]

The most notable public statement of the 'English alternative', the case for civic engagement, arose from an initiative over university reform. Early in 1947 a delegation of the (British) Association of University Teachers toured the Zone, produced a critical report on the universities, and provoked an outcry among its victims. Education Branch, anxious to recover the initiative,[42] then proposed an investigation on the lines of a British commission of enquiry, but entrusted to leading figures from German academic and public life. The members were appointed in January 1948, Lord Lindsay being included as the sole British (and non-voting) member.

The eventual report, the so-called 'Blaues Gutachten' (Blue Book), made much of the need to involve lay people in the general governance of the universities, to strengthen the teaching as against the research function, to give greater prominence to social studies, and to support general adult and civic education. Perhaps these ideas would have recommended themselves to progressive German minds anyway, but they seem so 'English' in tone that it is generally supposed that Lindsay's influence was crucial. Elevated to the peerage in the early days of the new Labour government, he was still Master of Balliol College, Oxford, but already involved in the design of an innovative new university for North Staffordshire. His dislike of the over-specialized 'research' mentality and his concern for a humane and civic curriculum were well known. Part of the 'Balliol succession' which preached leadership through social service, he was one of the WEA's most influential supporters, and a guiding spirit of Oxford University's own involvement in the adult education movement.

To his work in Germany Lindsay brought an apparently unquestioning confidence that others needed to have bestowed upon them his particular educational priorities and even methods. Almost twenty years earlier he had proposed the injection of the 'WEA spirit' into Indian higher education, and during the meetings of the university reform commission he apparently became irritated at the Germans' refusal to copy other people's methods.[43]

Perhaps German obduracy accounts for the rather cautious approach of Section 9 of the commission's report, which dealt with 'Adult Education'.[44] Lindsay clearly wanted the universities to become involved in the 'liberal, general political education' of adults,[45] but the actual recommendations, whilst seeming to require a substantial revision of traditional academic attitudes, made no definite structural proposals. The general drift was unmistakable, however: the insistence that universities had an obligation to provide civic education, and that they should discharge it through collaboration with independent voluntary agencies. This must have strengthened the view in Education Branch that the Germans were, if they only knew it, in need of an agency to fill the historical role the WEA had played in Britain.

The occupation authorities tried to bring universities and trade unions together, but with little success. (The unions, wary of the recrudescence of academic élitism, preferred to depend on their own system of labour academies.)[46] The WEA had been allowed during 1947 to open discussions with the German trade-union movement, but it could not prevail against the demarcation by which the unions concerned themselves with cadre and 'employee' training and left general adult education to the *Volkshochschulen*. A special organization, *Arbeit und Leben* (Working and Living), emerged to mediate between trade unions and adult education; it had cordial contacts with the WEA, but showed no interest in imitating the English approach.[47]

The university reform commission had no great impact either, and after its lukewarm reception Lindsay made one more attempt to salvage the proposals on adult education. In May 1949 he helped sponsor a conference at Hamburg to discuss working-class adult education. There he repeated his familiar complaint about the isolation of German universities; it seems to have been the uniform view of the contingent of British WEA, trade-union and co-operative representatives he brought with him that effective civic awareness and university reform in Germany would be achieved only with the aid of a strong, independent movement for workers' liberal education.[48]

Although some reports by visitors could be surprisingly undogmatic,[49] it was nevertheless true that *British* experience continued to be waved before a mostly unreceptive German audience. In 1952 a conference on workers' education, held in Berlin, produced a sharp divergence between the two sides. The director of education from the trade-union federal headquarters declared that ever since the beginnings of contact in 1947 the pressure to emulate the WEA had been inappropriate: it was retrogressive and involved a kind of cultural wishful thinking.[50]

There was a parallel problem in the area of the universities' contribution. The 1948/49 *Brief for Official Visitors* noted that university involvement in adult education was 'almost totally lacking', and went on: 'There can be no question of attempting to establish the British tradition, but the position can never be satisfactory so long as the universities continue to hold themselves aloof.'[51] The fact of the occupation, the encouragement of professional visiting between the two countries, the lack of an effective German precedent, did inevitably create some interest in this British 'tradition', though with persisting equivocation and doubts whether it was directly relevant to the German situation.[52]

The best-known outcome was the *Seminarkurs*-system of the University of Göttingen, inspired by the long-course provision of the English extra-mural departments, which itself derived from tutorial-class practice. The Göttingen initiative received encouragement from the British Universities Council for Adult Education and Oxford University's extra-mural delegacy;

nevertheless it was a long time in gestation and did not win official incorporation into its own university structure.[53] A participant in this cross-cultural engagement, Kurt Meissner, pointed out that Germans who were enthusiastic for a system of extra-mural studies were deviants within their own academic culture. And he drew attention in later years to the very peculiar nature of what had been regularly offered by the English. He suggested that, far from being a universal, the idea of extra-mural study sponsored by universities was in a world perspective itself an aberration.[54]

The gentle, but persistent, propaganda by the British spanned a period in which there were major shifts in the constitutional and political bases of the occupation. The changes of 1947 were followed only two years later by the creation of an independent Federal Republic out of the three Western zones. 'Re-education', which had already been turned into 'educational reconstruction', now became 'cultural relations', dictated by the overall diplomatic aim of 'normalizing' West Germany's position in the Western-Atlantic system. In June 1949 the first Unesco conference on adult education was held at Helsingør, and there the chief officer for adult education in the British Zone spoke enthusiastically of bringing Germany back into the European family.[55]

A revision of the Occupation Statute in 1951 allowed West Germany to engage in external activities on its own account. Anxious to combat propaganda coming from the Soviets, the British Foreign Office put in place an intensive programme of 'managed' exchanges and educational contacts—and as part of the plan created an advisory sub-committee for adult educational relations with Germany. Not surprisingly, this group was dominated by the 'establishment', in effect the orthodox extra-mural and WEA interests.[56] Almost certainly this gave a further lease of life to the mission for propagating 'real' adult education.

Claims for the superior virtues of the tutorial-class died a reluctant death. Werner Burmeister, the former émigré who became a senior member of the London University extra-mural department and served as adult education adviser with the High Commission in Berlin and as cultural attaché at Bonn, was a persistent critic of German adult education. In 1948 he complained about the folk high schools' tolerance of vocational work, and of their resulting 'hybrid' character and lack of purpose. After a lecture tour of the Ruhr in 1952, he deplored the absence of student self-government and progressive, systematic study. To drive his criticisms home he invoked the divinities of the 'alliance between labour and learning', that is, R. H. Tawney (the first-ever tutorial-class tutor), the WEA as voluntary association, and the 'Tutorial Class movement'.[57] In 1957, under the camouflage of 'A report from London', Burmeister instructed readers of the *Berliner Arbeitsblätter für die Volkshochschule* on the tutorial class as the chief means of sustaining respect for serious study among the distractions of modern life. Years later, when it was no longer a question of advice-giving, Burmeister questioned Bochum University's embrace of vocational adult education, implying that it was a betrayal of the special commitment to liberal studies. He backed up his case with a direct reference to the tutorial-class: 'The outstanding British contribution to adult education — the small group held together for a long period of steadily increasing demand on the students — has been due, above all, to the influence of the universities.'[58] In 1958 Professor G. R. Potter, who had been cultural attaché at Bonn, treated the Universities Council for Adult Education to an account, its Anglocentrism scarcely concealed, of the current situation in Germany. Interestingly Potter hung his opening remarks on the distinctive 'combination of tutorial class activities' to be found in Britain, but scarcely anywhere else and 'certainly not in Germany'.[59]

In 1948 Burmeister, severe critic as he was, had acknowledged that the *Volkshochschule* made particular sense to the Germans.[60] Why, then, did he and his compeers take so much trouble to propagandize for other, and less realistic, options? The answer seems to be that officials in Germany had 'painted themselves into a corner'. The decision had been made to encourage the (re)development of indigenous methods of adult education, specifically *Volkshochschulen*. But there was also a commitment to 'democratization' through providing advice and exerting influence, and in this respect officialdom was crucially dependent on the 'adult education movement' at home. Prominent figures were recruited to assist in reconstruction (as in the Foreign Office advisory group), and so the public rhetoric continued to be largely dictated by people with strong views about the inherent superiority of *British* practices. The result, as Ronald Wilson has pointed out, was that at the 'policy' level the British kept promoting, against the odds, certain favoured emphases: the special system of university extra-mural studies, especially in relation to citizenship and political education; the voluntarist constitution of the WEA, and the partnership with the universities; the liberal, non-vocational emphasis in trade-union education.[61] It is significant, regarding all of these, that throughout the 1950s 'informed' opinion in England still accorded a centrally important place to the tutorial-class inheritance.

The rhetoric was a function of constitutional relations between Britain and Germany, and was destined to deflate as those relations lost their peculiar, post-bellum character. In 1955, at the end of the occupation, Norman Dees, professional adult education tutor and the last specialist adviser to be seconded to Berlin, opined that it was now time for British and Germans to be learning from each other. But a few years later he wrote for the *Berliner Arbeitsblätter* about the continuing relevance of established methods in a period of social change, insisting that the emphasis must still be on the tutorial class and the extra-mural system as guarantors of serious adult study. This may have been offered as, in the words of his title, 'eine englische Betrachtung' ('An English view'), but one senses also the inveterate tendency to wag the finger at German adult education.[62]

Ever since the late 1940s it has been a commonplace to remark on the 'missionary' quality of the British occupation and to draw out the practical and ideological parallels and continuities with British colonial experience. And indeed for many British participants the presence in Germany was an exercise in quasi-empire. For those to the left of the political centre (and the rank and file of Education Branch seem to have been generally inclined that way), the image of the British colonial empire was shifting in these post-war years, towards the ideal of medium-term trusteeship, through which dependencies would progress towards statehood and constitutions not much different from what the 1945 Labour government was supposed to be creating for Britain. And this, after all, was the period at which Oxford University's extra-mural delegacy, under the chairmanship of Lord Lindsay, conceived its programme for implanting the ideas and methods of (English) university adult education in the African colonies.[63]

It could be argued that the historian should treat these events in Germany and the colonies simply as events, and accept that people engaged in such intercultural transactions have little choice but to work outwards from what they themselves understand and have already experienced as successful. But that is to disregard the self-congratulatory urge to cultural lending which periodically overcame English adult education. More to the point, it evades two question thrown up, though in no way answered, by this chapter. The first is whether the motives and beliefs evinced by adult educators in, say, 1919 and 1946 were an integral expression of that 'habit of mind' called British imperialism.[64] The second is whether the imperialist and missionary orientations (as I have so imprecisely called them) are inherently self-regarding, and inevitably distorted by a poverty of cultural imagination.

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61 Ronald Wilson, 'Re-education—Educational Reconstruction', *Rundschreiben* (duplicated, Landesverband der Volkshochschulen Niedersachsens, 1986), 14.

62 'Adult education in Germany', *Tutors' Bulletin of Adult Education*, December 1954/June 1955, 5; Norman Dees, 'Der Erwachsene und die "allgemeine Bildung": Eine englische Betrachtung', *Berliner Arbeitsblätter* 6: 14/16 (1958), 69–74.

63 See Colin Titmus, 'The introduction of university adult education into anglophone Africa', in Hake and Marriott (eds, 1992), 254–272.

64 Adult education unfortunately receives no attention in the otherwise valuable series of volumes on 'Education and Empire' edited by J. A. Mangan: *'Benefits Bestowed'? Education and British imperialism* (Manchester University Press, 1988); *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British imperialism* (Manchester University Press, 1990); *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial images and education in the British colonial experience* (London, Routledge, 1993). However, various studies in progress by Steele, Titmus and Taylor (regular contributors to the seminars from which this present volume and its predecessors resulted) are expected to go some way to remedying the deficit.

8

Policy-Borrowing and Adaptation in the Development of Continuing Education in Northern Ireland, 1921–50

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Adult education in Northern Ireland has consistently been linked to developments elsewhere in the United Kingdom. Superficially, the similarities are very strong indeed, suggesting initially that the Northern Ireland pattern of adult education simply mirrored that which had developed in Great Britain. Furthermore, since the very existence of the Northern Ireland state rested upon the belief that the six counties of Northern Ireland were culturally British, it might be expected to follow that the education system, including its adult education institutions, would be consciously modelled on British patterns. Yet upon closer inspection, it seems that developments in Northern Ireland followed a distinctive path. Although British patterns did constitute a model for policy-makers in Northern Ireland, the shape and nature of provision which emerged in the period between 1921 and 1950 differed in significant ways from the British adult education system. The concern of this chapter is with why these differences emerged, and with the implications for our understanding of cross-cultural communication in adult education more broadly.

With the creation of the state of Northern Ireland in 1921, a range of powers were delegated from the British parliament. These included responsibility for education, a responsibility which was itself largely devolved to local government, where it remained until the demolition by Britain of the Northern Ireland state in 1972. They also included responsibility for vocational training, which lay with the Ministry of Labour. The chapter summarizes the broad outlines of development of policy and practice in continuing education and training between the creation of the Northern Ireland state, and the debate over and passage of the 1947 Education Act, which can be taken as marking the post-war transition to a relatively modern form of the welfare state.

In considering a divided society, questions of intercultural communication assume a particular significance. Northern Ireland is of course far from unique: the former Yugoslavia to one side, we could point to the continuing divisions between Poles and Germans in Upper Silesia for instance. In Northern Ireland, however, the question of national identity has continued to pervade debate over education policy, as it has other areas of cultural practice, for over seventy years. The present paper is not the place to explore the informal and counter-cultural adult education activities of the minority population in any detail; but it should be noted that these formed a constant focus for resistance among the minority against the dominant definitions of national identity. However, my main focus here is upon: first, the ways in which the espoused British identity of the dominant political group helped shape and influence policy towards continuing education and training, and thus ultimately affected practice in the field; and secondly, the reshaping and renegotiation of policy which was constantly undertaken in order to adapt educational practices to the specific context of Northern Ireland.

The development of an adult education system

Northern Ireland was a state born of inter-cultural conflict. During its earliest years, the public policy debate over education reflected the nature of this conflict: although there was persistent political interest in the denominational attachment of elementary and secondary schools. During the 1920s, an adult education system began to emerge, almost entirely as a subsystem of the technical education system. As unemployment spread from the industrial centres, so increasing numbers of adults entered retraining programmes; but growing numbers also undertook courses of general education in technical institutes, studying in the evenings. During the 1930s, a small liberal adult education movement emerged, based on Queen's University in Belfast; although a Workers' Educational Association (WEA) was created in 1930, its influence was minimal. Compared with the British experience, adult education in Northern Ireland was highly institutionalized; and, concentrated as it was upon access to secondary schooling for adults, it tended to be far more formal than in Britain.

Schooling dominated education policy debate in Northern Ireland. The new Ministry of Education, established in June 1921, assumed responsibility for some 2,066 elementary schools, 54 intermediate and secondary schools, and 19 centres for technical instruction operating on 39 sites. Within days of the creation of the Northern Ireland state, a number of local-government bodies declared their allegiance to Daíl Éirann and the Irish Free State; by April 1922 twenty-one local authorities, including the counties of Fermanagh and Tyrone, had been dissolved and their functions taken over by government commissioners.[1] At the same time, the Northern Ireland government set to work to create local government systems which would buttress the Loyalist and Protestant hegemony over the state. Under the 1923 Education Act, responsibility for schooling was given to the six counties and the county boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry; three of the counties chose further to devolve their control over education to regional committees. However, the Act was solely concerned with schools and initial technical education. A Departmental Committee report on the educational services of Northern Ireland, undertaken as a preliminary to the 1923 Act, made no mention whatever of adult education and training.

This lack of attention to adult education is relatively easy to explain. First, the special political circumstances of the province meant that the primary focus of educational concern in the years following 1921 was bound to be religious control over schooling. It was the concern of both majority and minority communities that denominational control over schooling should be preserved; any struggles were largely about the allocation of, or exclusion from, resources. Non-denominational schooling was attempted energetically by the first Minister of Education, the Marquess of Londonderry, and was effectively the base of the 1923 Education Act; for his pains, Londonderry was denounced by both Presbyterian and Catholic church leaders, and his colleagues rushed through an amendment to the Act while Londonderry was in England in 1925, allowing clergy to take part in the appointment of schoolteachers.[2] Londonderry promptly resigned; under his successor, schooling was effectively segregated. While denominational control ceased to dominate the agenda from the mid 1920s, it remained an important sub-text to every subsequent discussion. In Great Britain, by contrast, policy debates on education were focused primarily upon secular questions. One of these was of course the question of citizenship as it related to the adult population; particularly in the turbulent years after 1918, the education of adults was discussed in all political circles, from the Communists at the revolutionary end of the spectrum to Conservatives and governing circles at the other, as an instrument of equipping the fully-enfranchised and politically powerful working class with the skills and knowledge needed to rule. Vocational training similarly became a means of resolving the political tensions created by widespread unemployment amongst First World War veterans.[3] No such concerns troubled the political élite of Northern Ireland in the early 1920s; rather, the political pre-eminence of sectarian divisions meant that no space existed which could be occupied by adult education movements, whether or not they received state sponsorship.

Adult education provision in Northern Ireland emerged gradually, by a process of disjointed incrementalism. And it did so through the institutional mechanism of the technical education centres inherited by the new state. Of these, in 1921 perhaps half a dozen of the technical instruction centres in urban areas offered courses supported by the Ministry of Labour for ex-servicemen; otherwise, adult education and training were left largely to the voluntary sector.[4] Most providers were concentrated in the towns, and above all in Belfast, where trade unions and the co-operative movement promoted courses for their own members; in the smaller towns and countryside provision was confined to a small number of church bodies and the Irish language training provided by some Gaelic cultural groups.[5] No estimate is possible at present of the scale of adult education provided by these voluntary agencies; since only the trade unions had a sizeable membership, and their educational activities were marginal, it can be assumed that the provision was extremely small-scale.

During the 1920s, however, an adult education system started to emerge. If training for ex-servicemen began to disappear from most towns in the early 1920s, persistent unemployment in the industrial areas created a new demand for labour-market training. In 1923 the Ministry of Labour paid for 128 unemployed women to be trained in technical instruction centres, to help fill what was described as an 'acute shortage of domestic servants'.[6] At the same time, growing numbers of adults were returning to the technical centres to complete their secondary schooling in the evenings. In Belfast during the later 1920s, for example, the education committee ran six 'branch schools' for evening classes, mostly in public elementary schools, as well as offering evening classes at the city's central technical college; there was also a Catholic-sponsored evening centre at St Finian's on the Falls Road.[7]

By the end of the 1920s, most of the technical centres had started to develop an evening programme specifically aimed at adults. A census of students in technical education in 1930, undertaken by the Ministry of Education, showed that adults (defined as those aged 21 or over) accounted for 5,967 of the 18,303 evening students, or just over 32 per cent of the whole; in Belfast, adults accounted for almost 38 per cent of evening students, while in Derry adults were, at 52 per cent, a majority. Adults were also found in significant numbers among part-time day students, though they were more common in general or academic subjects than on apprenticeship courses. Finally, the census showed that some 73 adults were taking elementary evening-school classes, studying alongside 1,500 young people who similarly wished to achieve this minimum threshold.[8] On the other hand, few attempts were made to provide instructional training for adults along similar lines to those adopted in Britain. It is true that a Juvenile Instructional Centre was opened in Belfast on similar lines to those opened in Britain, but its facilities were limited, and it was not copied elsewhere in the province.[9] Persistent attempts by the Unemployment Assistance Board from 1935 to develop training schemes for unemployed adults were blocked by the Ministry of Finance; young men and women and some adults were trained in the technical schools, while adult men were sent in very small numbers to British government training centres; no government labour camps were established in Northern Ireland, as they had been in Britain, though a handful of men did attend camps organized in Limavady and Richhill by the YMCA and Northern Ireland Council for Social Service.[10] Typically, then, it was to the technical schools that adults went to study in these years.

What were these adults studying? It is at this stage difficult to construct a detailed picture of the types of courses which adults followed in the technical centres. The centres themselves offered a largely vocational curriculum, of course; thus of the 5,119 examination entries among evening students in Belfast in 1931/32, for example, 697 were in mechanical engineering, 585 in commercial subjects, 529 in art and 449 in the building trades,[11] but it is impossible to determine which of these subjects particularly attracted adults. A wartime report compiled for the British Council noted that adults were often found in evening classes in such subjects as rural technology, building, chemistry, physics, botany, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, linen weaving, cabinet making, commercial subjects, domestic economy and arts and crafts.[12] Unemployed men sent by the Ministry of Labour to Belfast Technical College in 1936 were trained in skills needed for aircraft manufacture (in England, as it turned out).[13] Such evidence suggests that adult education was largely institutionalized, and in fact was often a replication for adults of the initial education and training curriculum. The degree of formality which characterized the average Northern Ireland technical instruction centre should not be overstated: the 1930 census showed Magherafelt to have 50 full-time and 153 part-time students, while Holywood had a total of 77 part-timers, adults included. These were not large impersonal bureaucracies; but they were part of the state system, geared predominantly towards the initial socialization of the young, and providing access to formal and often vocational qualifications. It is in this sense that we can speak of the Northern Ireland system as a relatively institutionalized one.

In the rest of the United Kingdom, the dominant forces in adult education were not technical institutions but universities and voluntary movements. In Northern Ireland, the extra-mural tradition was slow to develop. Queen's University had established a single extra-mural lectureship at the time of its incorporation in 1910, and ran a small programme of lecture classes in the city of Belfast, totalling some 11 courses with around 260 students in 1926/27. By 1930 the university had started to provide classes in Armagh and Ballymena, and was also being pressed to extend its activities by the newly-formed Workers' Educational Association. By 1932/33, a Joint Committee of the university and the WEA had been established, offering classes in seven provincial centres as well as Belfast (but not including Derry), and attracting some 353 students. The curriculum followed a pattern familiar to students of the extra-mural tradition: anthropology in Belfast and Armagh, English Literature in Armagh, Carrickfergus and Portadown, Economics and Economic History in Belfast; more distinctively, a class on Irish Literature attracted eighteen students in Belfast.[14] But if the curriculum was familiar, the overall scale of liberal adult education was limited.

Underlying this limited scale was the weakness of the adult education movement. The conditions which gave rise to the WEA in Britain did not exist in Northern Ireland, where the Association proved a feeble transplant. Nor was there any urgency on the part of the state to underwrite the costs of liberal adult education. Despite the vigorous support of the Education Minister, Lord Charlesworth, who asked for a state grant to be made to the Joint Committee ('on political, as well as educational, grounds'),[15] no grant was made in 1931 or 1933, and only a token £150 was granted in 1932. From 1934 to 1936, grant was made at £150 yearly; from 1936, the university started to use its influence to lever the grant upwards, a process continued with some success throughout the wartime period. However, as late as 1937/38 the Joint Committee still attracted the relatively low number of 377 students across the province. The Ministry itself confessed in 1937 that it 'believes that it is a serious defect in the educational system of Northern Ireland that so little can be done to assist the adult education movement. Increased importance has been assigned in recent years to such work in Great Britain.'[16] The Ministry of Finance similarly looked across the water, citing the far higher fee income that adult education organizations were able to raise for themselves in Britain. It is difficult to avoid concluding that the most significant feature of liberal adult education provision in Northern Ireland was the relative weakness of the social movement which had been most significant in campaigning for it in Britain: namely, the workers' education movement.

As elsewhere, the Second World War proved a powerful stimulus of change. As in the rest of the United Kingdom, war affected the entire population. Although conscription was not applied in Northern Ireland, civilians were mobilized for military-industrial purposes; Belfast was severely bombed during the blitz. As in other western European societies, the debate over reconstruction represented a marked shift of public opinion in favour of some kind of welfare state. This embraced the inclusion of adult education and training, for the first time, within the wider framework of welfare development.

Educational Reconstruction in Northern Ireland, the White Paper issued during the last year of the war, said relatively little about continuing education. What it did say, however, was significant. First, it clarified the role of technical instruction as being 'to assist, both by day and evening classes, in the training and education of the skilled workers, technicians and higher executives so essential to the industrial prosperity of Northern Ireland'.[17] It followed that the greatest priority following the war would be to expand full-time technical education, to help meet the demand for specialized labour in peacetime and to make up for past failings in the education system. The White Paper then acknowledged that previously, adult education had been confined to the small Queen's/WEA joint-committee programme, and had 'normally been looked upon as meaning courses of lectures followed by discussions on subjects of philosophical, scientific, economic, historical, literary or artistic interest'.[18] Local authorities would be given definite duties to plan for adult education within their further-education responsibilities. The White Paper was optimistic about the ways in which local government would exercise that duty: 'it is impossible to foresee at this stage all the developments that may follow if the authorities take a broad view of their responsibilities and are given freedom and encouragement to experiment.' However, it was a further three years before legislation appeared. By that stage, resources were again constrained, and the development of continuing education policy and provision continued along largely familiar lines.

Despite the promise of experiment and expansion held out in the White Paper, growth was relatively slow, and it was focused primarily upon the technical institutions. There were changes, though a number of these predated the 1947 Education Act. For example, the grant to the Queen's/WEA joint committee was changed in 1945 from a yearly *ad hoc* lump sum to a regular formula (65 per cent of approved annual expenditure was met by government grant).[19] The growth in provision which followed was dramatic: the joint committee in 1949/50 offered 111 classes, followed by 2,798 students; these included residential summer schools, held at the Friends' School in Lisburn and attracting students from Britain as well as across the province.[20] Even this impressive growth left liberal adult education on the margins of adult education activity in Northern Ireland, though; the joint committee's programme touched a tiny minority of the province's adult population. It was also insignificant compared with the numbers of adults enrolling in the technical schools.

Ironically, the 1947 Act in itself did little to foster adult education in the technical schools. Quite the reverse: an early official estimate suggested that it was the previous system, rather than the new, which had stimulated evening-class provision, and saw the future of technical education as lying in full-time and day-release education for younger people.[21] Yet according to the Ministry's annual reports, the total number of part-time evening students in the province's technical schools had risen to 24,935 in 1948/49 and to 26,771 in the following year. Again, both the curriculum and the organization of part-time evening study had a highly instrumental and institutional character, but with some space for experiment and innovation on the margins. An inspectors' report on English teaching in schools, for instance, noted that

> During winter months, classes in English are held in most technical schools in the evenings also. These classes are designed to meet a variety of needs and tastes, cater for students of maturer years, and range from elementary instruction in comprehension and written work, instruction which is a consolidation and revision of the primary school work, to preparation for university matriculation and the more advanced RSA certificates. In addition, some technical schools have introduced non-examination courses in English in which the emphasis has been upon discussion, play-acting or the wider aspects of literary expression.

The numbers in this last category, it was noted, were relatively small.[22] They represented a limited break with the heavily institutionalized form of adult education which had dominated in Northern Ireland up to 1945. Generally, though, it was to the technical schools that adults turned when they wished to study; and they opted, for the most part, for traditional qualifications-based forms of learning.

Adult education and training in Northern Ireland between 1921 and 1950 developed institutional forms which appeared to approximate in some respects to the pattern of provision in Britain. Each of the institutional forms is itself familiar: university extra-mural courses, a joint committee with the Workers' Educational Association, evening classes at technical institutions were all drawn from the rest of the UK. What were missing were local authority centres for the education of adults as found in many British cities (above all London), the Ministry of Labour work camps established in Britain during the 1920s and 1930s, and a thriving workers' education movement with roots across the province. Liberal adult education remained relatively small scale, while general and vocational adult education were more strongly institutionalized than elsewhere in the UK. Thus the adult education system that existed following the 1947 Act did indeed possess certain distinctive features. It is therefore appropriate to consider the empirical evidence for cross-cultural transference, in order to consider how far policy-makers were themselves concerned to adapt and adjust British models to an Irish context.

The role of British influence

Relations between Britain and Northern Ireland are not straightforward. Although Northern Ireland was an independent state with its own Parliament for the period considered here, it was also from the outset a part of the United Kingdom, with certain key functions (including defence and foreign policy) determined by the UK Parliament. Although it was clearly subordinate to Britain, the ruling group in Northern Ireland represented the majority population in identifying wholeheartedly with a British national identity—and, equally strongly, against the theocratic definition of Irish national identity which characterized the official ideology of the Irish Free State.[23] It is a considerable oversimplification, though, to see Northern Ireland's education policies as simply mirroring those of Britain; even less does actual practice reflect the British situation. To a very large extent, as will be shown, Britain acted as a point of reference for almost every policy decision, however small. Providing bodies were modelled on British patterns, and examining bodies were imported wholesale. Yet repeatedly policy-makers departed from British practice, in ways that indicate a number of significant policy priorities which were distinctive to the province.

An example may prove instructive: the explicit decision not to follow the British Ministry of Labour in creating a system to train the long-term unemployed. This decision was not for want of knowledge of the British system: from time to time Northern Ireland delegations made visits to the British training centres, and reported to senior policy-makers on the results—for the most part favourably. Indeed, much of the legislative framework predated partition. Despite these favourable preconditions, the training system in Northern Ireland differed very substantially from its British counterpart.

Training for unemployed adults had been a topic of intermittent debate in Northern Ireland since the early 1920s, when it was decided to send jobless men and women to the technical schools. As in Britain, unemployed workers were eligible to receive benefit from the state insurance scheme. Legislation inherited from the Union—that is, the 1920 Unemployment Insurance Act—appeared to allow the authorities to make attendance at an approved training course a condition of payment of benefit; in 1928, the law was amended to allow the Ministry of Labour to finance special courses for unemployed workers. The 1934 Unemployment Act was closely modelled on the British Unemployment Assistance Act; like the British legislation, it created an Unemployment Assistance Board (UAB) with powers to provide training for adults, and confirmed that the Ministry of Labour could require the unemployed people to attend courses, on pain of losing their entitlement to benefit.[24]

Little however was done, other than the opening of the Juvenile Instruction Centre in Belfast in 1930. Even this limited venture was weakened by lack of resources: as late as 1938, it was said,

> in spite of its excellent work, the Centre has not yet acquired, among those for whose benefit it is intended, that prestige as a welcome institution for congenial instruction and recreation which, we believe, has been gradually acquired by many of the centres in Great Britain [...] the centres in Great Britain seem to have acquired their popularity largely through the predominant place of practical tasks and physical training in their curricula, and through the various voluntary and recreational activities taking place after hours. Mainly through lack of accommodation the Belfast Centre has not yet been able to offer these attractions to a similar extent.[25]

No other centres were created for young people, and there was no attempt to establish anything like the system of occupational centres, skills training centres and work camps which existed in England, Wales and Scotland.[26] As late as 1939, it was estimated that the total cost of supporting unemployed clubs and summer camps through the Council for Social Service was as little as £6,000 a year.[27] Politicians, especially socialists and popular Unionists in Belfast, occasionally made comparisons with the British system of training; the Belfast Area Advisory Committee to the UAB repeatedly called for greater expenditure on training,[28] and the Labour Member of Parliament for Belfast Pottinger, Jack Beattie, called on the Ministry of Labour to establish a scheme in the mid 1930s.[29] A departmental inquiry was the sole public outcome.

However, within the civil service rather more ambitious proposals had been discussed. In 1935, for instance, the chairman of the newly-created

Unemployment Assistance Board, R. V. Williams, produced a memorandum on adult training. With limited resources, Williams argued, the Board should concentrate on men aged between 18 and 25 years old: 'From 18 years onward, young people are outgrowing parental control, they are becoming conscious of manhood, they are eager to experiment with life, they are easily influenced by the political agitator or the recruiting agents of crime.' Williams proposed a system of training centres and work camps, though he urged that 'Above all the word "camp" should never be applied to any open-air training scheme. The communist orators and pamphleteers have been quick to play upon an unpleasant association of ideas by denouncing such organisations as "Concentration Camps".' The purpose of training was to be a broad one, indeed considerably broader than the narrow vocational focus adopted by the Ministry of Labour in Britain:

> The aim of training I have in mind is not to make the youth a skilled artisan but to make him a good and intelligent citizen [...] to rescue the unemployed man from his apathy, to re-introduce him into the healthy activities of general life, and to provide him with that social stimulus that is to be found in an active association with his fellow citizens.[30]

Nothing came of this ambitious proposal, though from time to time it was dusted down and passed around the Ministry over the next five years. 'We are', the Ministry of Labour ruefully commented in 1937, 'very far behind Great Britain' in providing training for the unemployed.'[31]

In 1938, the Ministry of Labour formally proposed that four training centres be opened. In fact, initially it had settled on two centres; the UAB had argued that four were needed, two each in Belfast and Derry, all for unemployed men over 18 but with some provision for unmarried women. In November, and once more in summer 1939, the Minister of Finance rejected the scheme.[32] In the meantime, the Secretary to the Cabinet, Sir Charles Blakemore, secretly sent the Ministry of Labour a proposal for compulsory training in work camps. The original proposal has not survived (it was returned immediately to Blakemore), but the Minister of Labour's reply is revealing:

> To compel the unemployed to attend 'labour camps', accept military training, or carry out some service to the community as a condition for receiving benefit is obviously impracticable politically. It would require legislation and what chances would there be of carrying through such legislation without producing the most profound reaction in the Province? The working classes would react

> violently from the 'Labour' angle, and the Nationalists would be up in arms, literally and metaphorically!'[33]

The minister, Conacher, was wrong to say that new legislation would be needed: the 1934 Act, and the 1920 legislation, gave the UAB and Ministry power to compel attendance; the UAB wrote to Conacher in 1938 similarly arguing that its powers to compel were 'very doubtful', adding that 'in any event it would not be good policy to treat our claimants as children'.[34]

Training policy in Northern Ireland differed significantly from the British system, then, despite the existence of similar legislation and a pattern of cross-cultural communication on training matters. Two factors appear to have been of particular significance in determining this difference: political conditions and financial constraints. The first factor was the distinctive political situation in Northern Ireland. In a state whose population was sharply divided along sectarian lines, government had to accept that it required a degree of active support from the Protestant working class, and that there were limits beyond which it was better not to push the Catholic community. In particular, the authorities were throughout the 1920s and 1930s concerned not to do anything which might create a cross-community working-class alliance—a threat invariably led, in the nightmares of Unionist leaders (and, for that matter, Catholic community leaders as well), by communists. Government concern reached a peak in 1932, when the Unemployed Workers' Committee's agitation over unemployment produced a strike among relief workers; police attacks on the largely Protestant strikers evoked riots in both Protestant and Catholic neighbourhoods.[35] Subsequently, government was careful to avoid provoking the kind of working-class solidarity that was displayed during and immediately after the 1932 riots. More generally, it appears that the special political circumstances of the province placed limits on government's development of a training policy in the inter-war years.

Second, the creation of the Northern Ireland state had very direct financial consequences. In general, Ulster's population, at 1.25 millions, does not allow for many economies of scale. At the time of partition, there was every reason to suppose that the province's economy—based as it was on diversified small scale farming combined with a number of manufacturing industries, centred chiefly on Belfast—would return to its pre-war prosperity. In the event it did not; by 1932 the official unemployment rate was 28 per cent; to this should be added 30,000 unregistered unemployed. The return of a Fianna Fáil government in the South in 1932 led immediately to an economic war between the UK and the Free State. The province was certainly the poorest part of the United Kingdom in the 1930s, and government revenue was accordingly far tighter than could have been anticipated when the Northern Ireland state was founded. So far as training was concerned, the absence of economies of scale had a major impact; rather than create skills training centres, the government sent men to British centres for training; it could, however, only afford to send some hundred men a year.

Perhaps these constraints would have mattered less had the Northern Ireland state been better led and managed than it was. A number of commentators have noted the limited intellectual capacity and political imagination of Northern Ireland's inter-war political leaders, from whichever community they were drawn. Between 1921 and 1939, only twelve people held Cabinet office; by the outbreak of the war, their average age was 62.[56] Their view of Great Britain tended to be coloured strongly by their repeated experience of, as they saw it, betrayal by successive British governments in the fifty years before 1914. Thus ministers, and senior Loyalist councillors at local level, tended to be sceptical about actual British institutions, whatever their espoused view of their British national identity.

Cross-cultural communication was, rather, channelled through enlightened professionals, and in education and training, it was the middle-ranking civil servants and teaching professionals who were the most common vehicles. Political leaders and senior civil servants were aware of this, and recruited new staff accordingly. To take one example, the Principal of Belfast Technical College frequently attended meetings of the English Association of Technical Institutions (as well as the annual meeting of the Irish Technical Education Association); in 1931, he was sent to visit 'some of the newer technical schools' in England.[57] College staff included a large number of mainland Britons: only Scots and English candidates were short-listed for three vacancies as arts teachers in May 1931, for instance.[58] British influence at the professional level was, therefore, strong. The college was, though, subject to the Unionist politicians who controlled Belfast City Council; the more significant the policy level, then, the more selective was the nature of any cross-cultural communication. Professionals who saw British practice and policy as a modernizing force if applied in the Northern Ireland context were frustrated by the opposition of senior civil servants and political leaders whose definitions of national interest were narrowly focused on the problems of power and control in the province.

It is suggested, then, that at least two competing definitions of Britishness were at work in this period. The first emanated from the Unionist, Protestant governing group: linked to popular opinion through Orange organizations, and adopting a Loyalist orientation towards the United Kingdom, this group took a narrow and almost literally provincial view of what constituted British national identity. In their view, Britishness did not include liberal adult education. Residential adult education made no headway, while the Workers' Educational Association was regarded with the deepest suspicion; as the Finance Minister noted in the margins of a letter from the Minister of Education about the WEA, 'Has this Association not a political tinge?'[39] The second orientation was associated with the enlightened professional strata, and especially those involved professionally in education and training. This group constantly took policy and practice in Britain as its reference point, both as a technique of persuasion and as a metaphor for modernity. In practice, this group was repeatedly rebuffed whenever its British-inspired proposals clashed with the political or fiscal realities which preoccupied senior decision-makers.

Behind all this stood of course a third pole of national identity: Irishness. Intercultural communication was strongest of course in the Nationalist community, though even here it should not be assumed that the communications process was direct and unproblematic. By definition, though, Nationalists were marginal to the policy process in the North, where the practice of exclusion was conscious, deliberate, and generally highly effective. Yet it is difficult to see how educational thinking in the Free State might have been adopted by even the most benevolent and enlightened professionals in the North. Catholic hegemony and fear of communism dominated Free State politics during the inter-war years. Cathcart has described the consequences for adult education as follows:

> The pre-independence adult education agencies, apart from the Gaelic Athletic Association, had lost their impetus. Some Protestant educationalists advocated the development of a folk school movement similar to that which had revived Danish rural life. Neither the advocates nor the model they proposed received much sympathy or support.[40]

Instead, the Catholic hierarchy supported the foundation in 1931 of Muintir na Tíre, whose parish-based guilds combined community development with Catholic political ideology. Non-denominational education was denounced as a British import, inherently communistic and divisive; indeed, the entire thrust of adult education in Britain was portrayed by the Catholic hierarchy as 'largely directed towards propagating Marxism'.[41] Secular and interdenominational agencies did of course exist, such as the Irish Countrywomen's Association, who developed links with their UK sister organizations. None the less, the main tendencies in adult education in the Free State were explicitly antagonistic towards the kind of liberal adult education which had developed in Britain; vocational education and training developed along broadly similar lines,[42] but without much cross-cultural communication between Britain and the Free State.

Developments in the Free State provided little in the way of models for imitation or adaptation, then. The Free State did, though, offer a general negative pole for comparison by the political élite in Northern Ireland. If the Free State served as a counterpoint for the definition of British national identity, by the same token it could provide only reinforcement for the separation of Irish from British education systems. This is not to say that intercultural communication did not occur at all; there were contacts between the senior staff of technical schools on both sides of the border, for example through the annual congress of the Irish Technical Education Association (three representatives from Belfast attended the 1931 congress).[43] Such communication took place, though, within the context of a profound ideological gulf, reinforced after 1932 by the economic war with de Valera's Fianna Fáil government. It seems to have had few practical consequences.

Conclusions

Cross-cultural influences were indeed strong in the case of Northern Ireland. Superficially, the system of continuing education closely mirrored that existing in Britain; much legislation had been carried over from the days of the Union, while new legislation tended to rely heavily on initiatives taken in London. Yet in the cases of both adult education and adult training, Northern Ireland also displays significant divergences of practice from the rest of the UK. On the evidence reviewed here, it seems quite wrong to say, as two recent scholars do, that 'The history of industrial training broadly follows the trends in Great Britain.'[44] This may be true for training within companies (though even here it looks as though Northern Ireland firms were even less willing to invest in human resources than their British counterparts);[45] it is certainly not the case so far as unemployed training is concerned. These differences chiefly represent the working-out of the specific political conditions of Northern Ireland, reinforced by the chronic financial constraints facing the new Northern Ireland state.

Continuing education in Northern Ireland, then, did develop in distinctive ways. It continued to be deeply influenced by British patterns of development, but in key respects both policy and practice diverged from those adopted in Great Britain. Membership of the United Kingdom produced parallel pressures, both external and internal; thus the impact of the Second World War, followed by the development of welfare-state institutions after 1945, certainly had consequences for Northern Ireland's continuing education system. However, the main lines of development continued to be through the highly institutionalized and formalized continuing education provision which had characterized pre-war Northern Ireland. What is striking is the extent to which the ties with Britain inhibited the emergence of genuine intercultural exchanges with a range of other nations, just as in the Free State the continuing resentment of Britain served to block engagement with the British liberal adult education tradition. While Northern Ireland was far from being a closed society, there is little evidence that intercultural communication between adult education practitioners and policy makers substantially affected either policy or practice.

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Abbreviations

HMSO – His Majesty's Stationery Office

PRONI – Public Records Office of Northern Ireland

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9

Cross-Cultural Communication in European Adult Education since the Second World War: Participants, purposes and problems

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Earlier volumes of these studies of cross-cultural communication in adult education have not taken the subject beyond the Second World War. Since that time it has not only greatly expanded, but also changed in character. This chapter is intended as an introduction to the study of its manifestations in the last half century. It is not a history; no attempt has been made to tell the story of its development during that period, for that would have been too ambitious for one contribution. Instead it does try to describe the principal characteristics which distinguish cross-cultural communication in European adult education since 1945 from that in earlier times. It identifies the motives which appear to have inspired expansion, the dominant role played by international organizations, and its advantages and shortcomings. It points to independent action by governments and the continuing function of private individuals and groups. Attention is drawn to measures taken to cope with the problems of effective and accurate communication.

Before 1939

Before 1939 cross-cultural communication was small-scale, occasional and unsystematic. According to Bereday, in education the nineteenth century was the century of cultural borrowing,[1] but in adult education there was only a limited amount to borrow. By the outbreak of the Second World War, in spite of notable development in a number of European countries, adult education was still a peripheral phenomenon of education in most of them.

It followed on faltering footsteps and at some distance behind the organization of systematic transnational exchange of information about schools, further and higher education (the International Bureau of Education [IBE] was founded in 1925 and became an intergovernmental agency in 1929). It is true that the World Association for Adult Education was founded in 1919, but its title exaggerated the scope of its membership and its achievements.

The haphazard nature of cross-cultural communication in adult education may usefully be depicted in terms of a metaphor commonly employed in communications theory. Any participant at a large social reception finds him/herself amidst of numerous conversations (communication within other cultures about matters relevant to adult education) in addition to the one in which he/she is engaged (communication within his/her own culture about adult education). The effect may be one of undifferentiated hubbub. Some of these conversations, including the participant's own, although aimed primarily, if not only, at members of a single group, are however audible beyond it and are picked up by persons outside it. They compete for attention and are particularly likely to be heard by people discontented with their own conversational group. Which of them are registered and which ignored is, it is held, determined by how loud the conversation is (the strength of the signal) and the interest to the receiver of the people taking part in the conversation (the source of the signal) and its content.

To press the metaphor further, some participants in a conversation intend to be heard outside their own group, some receptions are not well attended, and some of the participants are only there for the drinks. In other words, before 1939 few adult educators were concerned with getting through to other societies than their own, there was comparatively little organized communication about adult education at all, and it attracted little attention.

The investigations so far presented in the series of 'Cross-Cultural Studies in the Education of Adults' have stressed the importance of individuals in the process. If the cases they describe are representative of the period up to the Second World War, then their role was determinant. Some individuals have simply disseminated knowledge they have acquired about other cultures, some have suggested that the knowledge might usefully be applied to their own society, even proposing ways it might be done, or they have taken steps to implement application—or done any combination of these things. In 1816–18 Charles Dupin appears to have come across lectures for working men as a by-product of a visit to Glasgow to study its industries. He not only brought back to France ideas derived from them, but founded evening classes, inspired by them, at the *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers* in Paris.[2] Bishop Grundtvig, on the other hand, was much influenced by the residential college system of Cambridge University, which he had seen in his visits to England, and did propose the creation of folk high schools, but he did not found any himself.[3]

It was largely by chance that both Dupin and Grundtvig encountered the practices which they were inspired to publicize back home. To seek out ideas to be applied to post-school education was not a specific purpose of their visits. Like other individuals who contributed to cross-cultural communication they were, however, predisposed by their preoccupations and their previous experience to register foreign practices which might have a relevance in their own countries.

Visits actually intended for observation and evaluation of foreign educational practices were much rarer. From quite early days a few notable ones were commissioned by governments. In the mid nineteenth century Matthew Arnold, in his role as an Inspector of Schools, went to France, Switzerland and Holland,[4] and Eugène Rendu, of the French Ministry of Public Instruction, to England and Germany;[5] at the end of the century Michael Sadler, as Director of Special Enquiries and Reports at the Education Department (later Board of Education), studied France and Germany.[6] In 1892 Alfred Espinas and Henry de Varigny, for the French Government, and in 1899 H. C. Muller for the Dutch, went to Great Britain.[7]

Arnold, Rendu and Sadler treated popular education, but primarily in the sense of schooling for children. Only Sadler, writing much later than the first two and with his background of university extension, made more than a passing reference to education for adults. University extension was, however, the specific focus of Espinas, de Varigny and Muller. They were exceptional for their time in appearing to demonstrate government interest in the adult education of other societies, since Sadler's inclusion of comments on adult education owed more to his personal interests than to those of the national education department. It is possible that too much should not, however, be made of the French example. In 1892, when the reports were published, the re-establishment of universities out of the existing collection of independent faculties, which was enacted in 1896, was a subject of vigorous debate in

France.[8] It is probable that the apparent concern for extension was an outcome of controversy over the role of universities, rather than of the importance attached by the government to adult education as such.

Until 1939 the activities of voluntary bodies were more important than state action in promoting cross national communication about adult education. This was only to be expected, since it was almost entirely on such associations, not the state, that the provision of learning activities for adults relied. As Barry Hake has contended, concepts and practices of adult education were carried across frontiers by social movements, often outside or in opposition to governments.[9]

After 1945: means, motives and institutions

Since the Second World War communication across societal boundaries about all forms of human activity, political, social, economic and cultural, has vastly increased and changed. Adult education is only one of these and a fairly minor one at that. Much of what is written in this chapter concerning cross-cultural communication in this field could equally well be applied to others. Little European research appears to have been undertaken into the part played by improved means of transport and the transmission of information in the development of adult education in the nineteenth century or later, either within or across cultures. Exactly how much effect they had cannot be measured accurately. There are, however, certain indicators of their importance. For example, in the first half of the nineteenth century Mrs Clara Lucas Balfour, a pioneer feminist and temperance advocate, who earned her living by lecturing, penetrated to most parts of England from her London base. Much of her early travel was by horse-drawn coach, but a map of the places where she taught shows that they were closely linked to the extending railway system.[10] To take a later and more significant case, on sheer common-sense grounds it is inconceivable that university extension lecturers from Cambridge and Oxford could have covered the country as they did without the railways.

It would be valuable to discover the precise influence, not only of the train and the steamship, but also of cheap and efficient postal services on cross-cultural transmission. They and the diffusion of the printed word to a growing literate public remained its chief vehicles up to 1939. Road travel became faster and more popular and the potential of radio as an instrument

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of education had been recognized from the first days of broadcasting, but there is no evidence that either had significantly affected cross-cultural communication in adult education up to that time.

It is generally and probably correctly assumed that there has been an enormous leap in communication between cultures since 1945. In the case of the ordinary individual it has been significantly facilitated by the rise in the standard of living, increased leisure (including the quasi-universal enjoyment of annual paid holidays), cheap large-scale air transport, television and other mass media. How far these advantages have increased knowledge and understanding of, or even exposure to the culture of other societies is somewhat doubtful, since individuals' experience has so often been of a homogenized tourist culture, designed to reduce the sense of foreignness in being abroad. It contains elements of most European and American ones too, but conceals or distorts the reality of the country visited by the leisure traveller. Experience through the mass media is also inadequate, being partial and selected by those who direct them.

At the associative level exchanges between societies would no doubt not have grown to their present level had the mechanics of travel and the media not developed as they have. To a certain extent they have been utilized simply because they were there. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that the current scale of cross-cultural communication has only been achieved under the impulse of other motivational forces. Primarily they may be classified under the headings of collective security and interdependence. It is they which have moved governments, singly and in collaboration, to take a dominant role.

The idea that co-operative action by governments was necessary to preserve peace is not new. The Concert of Europe, after the Napoleonic Wars, was an early example. The League of Nations, after the First World War, had somewhat higher ideals and global rather than European aspirations. The League is nowadays identified with the failure of its principal aim, of preventing war, but the achievements of some of its specialized agencies, among them the International Labour Office (ILO) and the International Bureau of Education (IBE), demonstrate that its record was not entirely one of failure. The even greater trauma of the Second than the First World War led to the formation of the United Nations Organization, also dedicated to keeping the peace and given an added incentive, in the threat of nuclear conflict, to succeed where the League had failed. The effects of war, which had touched all the inhabited continents of the world, stimulated awareness of global interdependence and mutual responsibility. This caused UNO to spawn even more numerous and more active specialist agencies than its predecessor. Among them the ILO and the IBE, inherited from the League, continued their work, and there were also, among others, the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the World Bank and, most important from the point of view of this paper, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco). Like UNO itself, these agencies were all dedicated to international communication and co-operation in their own spheres.

By the very fact that their concern was the world as a whole, they could not satisfy the special interests of particular groups of states. To meet these, more limited intergovernmental associations were formed. In some, like the Organization of American States (OAS), the common feature was geographical. Europe, divided by the Cold War, had the Council of Europe and later the European Community on one side, and a number of Socialist bloc associations, such as COMECON, on the other. Other groupings were political, or based on common economic characteristics. For this chapter the most important of the latter kind was the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), formed as an instrument of co-operation on economic and social policies among twenty-four industrialized member countries, scattered throughout the world.

Adult education, its nature and function in intergovernmental institutions

All the United Nations agencies so far mentioned, the Council of Europe, the European Community and OECD, have engaged in the provision and promotion of education for adults. There has indeed been a highly fruitful interaction between the organizations and the field. Adult education has contributed to the achievement of organizational goals and the use made of it by the agencies has enhanced its status. The perceived need for the political re-education of the populations defeated in the Second World War, the drive for universal literacy among peoples of the Third World, the increasing democratization of education among advanced nations on grounds of social justice and economic self-interest, and the need for further and repeated training to meet the requirements of accelerated technical change, were bringing adult education from the periphery closer to the centre of educational thinking. At the same time the creation of new and revivified international associations provided a vehicle for the dissemination of ideas and practices. It was a fortunate coincidence.

It was not an unmitigated blessing. The concept of adult education, which has increasingly become globally accepted, owes much to United Nations agencies, particularly Unesco. The first International Conference on Adult Education of this body, held in Elsinore, Denmark in 1949, established a definition of the field as a criterion for world-wide development. This became sanctified by its adoption as a guide for Unesco practice during the formative first decade of its life. Of the seventy-three delegates and observers at Elsinore, fifty-four came from Europe and fourteen from North America. The British, Americans and Scandinavians, through their wider experience of educating adults, dominated discussions. Although there was some dissent, the narrow definition of adult education prevailing in Great Britain and Scandinavia and already operating in Unesco under their influence, was accepted as the correct one.[11] It excluded occupational education and stressed liberal studies above all. In Unesco a small Adult Education Division confined itself to work of that kind, leaving other provision in the education of adults to other divisions. As A. S. M. Hely pointed out, it gave a false impression of the scope and importance of the field.[12] Since the educational work of the FAO, the WHO, the ILO and other agencies, like their other activities, did not fall within the sphere of Unesco and was conducted independently of one another, the international communication of United Nations bodies, which became very influential at world level, may be said to have contributed to the undervaluation, confusion and fragmentation of adult education as a distinctive sector. Although later Unesco world conferences on adult education, at Montreal (1960), Tokyo (1972) and Paris (1984), have adopted a more comprehensive view of the field, and the Unesco General Conference held in Nairobi in 1976 produced a definition of adult education which is both the most inclusive and globally disseminated so far,[13] traces of early influences still linger on.

The Montreal World Conference did much to set adult education in the context of lifelong education. Both Unesco and the Council of Europe made it a matter of policy in the 1960s to propagate this concept, although the latter preferred the term, 'permanent education'. The OECD pushed a related, but more limited idea, 'recurrent education', which appeared to show greater concern for how it would work out in practice.[14]

For the specialized agencies of the United Nations, as for the OECD, adult education has been of interest as an instrument for the achievement of the purposes for which they exist, but it does not form one of them. For the WHO the spread of health education worldwide helps to improve health, the FAO uses education as a means of improving farming practices, the ILO as a tool of improving labour relations and the condition of workers.

Outside the United Nations the OECD's concern for education is closely tied to its mission of improving the economic performance of its member nations. Its Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) was established to encourage experiments in educational innovation and co-operation in educational research as an aid to that goal. In adult education its special concerns, developing the concepts of paid educational leave, recurrent education and stimulating participation of adults in systematic learning activities, were chosen because of their contribution to it. CERI's declining interest in those concerns from a peak in the 1970s is evidence of their peripheral nature within the Organization. Its renewed interest in adult education and training in the late 1980s shows its responsiveness to changes in its member governments' priorities.[15] As the European Economic Community widened into the European Community, so its educational activities broadened, although its basic economic bias still shows, in that its major contribution to cross-cultural communication in adult education remains the work of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP).

Unesco and the Council of Europe have always had wider cultural remits than other intergovernmental organizations. In their work adult education is not one of the means to realizing their purposes, it is one of their purposes and for the former body a major one. Nevertheless it should be remembered that for all intergovernmental organizations, whatever their immediate goal, the promotion of international knowledge and co-operation is seen as an instrument for the achievement of their main purpose, to preserve world peace and increase global well-being.

Because all United Nations agencies, the OECD, the European Community and the Council of Europe are intergovernmental, only states have a voice in deciding their work. Much of adult education in Europe is, however, provided by private, non-profit associations, depending, it must be admitted, to a large extent on government subsidy. In recognition of this fact Unesco established the category of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which, although they have no voting power, are granted a special, privileged place in Unesco's work. The principal ones, which were specifically established to promote the education of adults and which play a role in cross-cultural communication in Europe are the European Bureau of Adult Education (EBAE) and the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE), although the latter's main concern lies with the Third World.

The nature of contributions to cross-cultural communication

Whether governmental or not, these European or world bodies undertake the systematic interchange of knowledge about their activities among states under four headings—meetings, research, the initiation or organization of multi-national educational projects, and publications. They all hold international conferences from time to time, some of which lead to a greater or lesser degree of action. The Unesco world conferences have already been mentioned. From its early days it has also held specialized ones, for example in 1956 on universities and adult education.[16] As an example of action by other bodies, at its conference in 1974 the ILO adopted a Convention and Recommendation in favour of the right of workers to leave of absence from employment in order to follow courses of education. How far this stimulated international interest in Paid Educational Leave (PEL) and how far it was a product of existing interest it is difficult to say.[17] Although it was much discussed, the practical results have been somewhat disappointing for its advocates.[18] The European Bureau has held numerous conferences on themes of current concern to adult educators, notably one on problems of adult illiteracy in advanced societies.

By their remits international organizations only sponsor research into matters of international relevance. The word 'sponsor' is used advisedly, because, although Unesco, the WHO, the Council of Europe, the European Community or the EBAE, may initiate, plan and finance empirical studies, they customarily depend on outside bodies or individual specialists to carry them out. Indeed the original idea, the planning and some of the funding have sometimes come from outside, even in researches undertaken under the aegis of intergovernmental bodies. Without such contributions the Council of Europe and Unesco would have achieved less than they have. The OECD, a more wealthy agency, recruits outside expertise on a contract basis, and, if it promotes studies, it draws less on money from outside.

An outstanding example of Unesco support for empirical enquiry within the field of our study was the project, *Comparative Research in Organization and Structure of Adult Education in Europe* (CROASAEE), which ran from 1975 to 1984. The initial idea came from the European Centre for Leisure and Education (ECLE), an institution of the Czech Academy of Sciences, itself a government body.[19] Unesco welcomed the proposal and agreed to provide funding; ECLE would manage the project. It had ambitious goals—to compile an account of adult education in each European state and on the basis of these reports to attempt a cross-European comparative study of its organization and structure.[20] Alongside the empirical work and fed by it, the intention was to develop the theory and methodology of comparative studies in adult education. Underlying the whole scheme was the hypothesis that, in spite of the differences caused by the ideological division of the continent into two blocs, the basic similarities between national systems of adult education in Europe were considerable and possibly more significant.

The small permanent core group, which collaborated with ECLE in the guidance of the project, the authors of the single-nation studies and other contributors were invited to participate on individual grounds, not as representatives of organizations or states (although those who came from the then socialist countries needed state approval). A number of consultative meetings, held in different countries over the years, were largely financed by the host institutions. Unesco grant only met part of the cost.

CROASAEE was a product of unusual circumstances.[21] More typical was the study of European legislation on adult education,[22] undertaken by the EBAE at the request of Unesco and paid for by that body as part of the preparatory work for the 1984 World Conference. The team was recruited from associations which were members of the EBAE, but for their perceived knowledge of the subject, rather than as representatives of these associations. CEDEFOP appears to operate in a similar fashion in its many information-gathering projects—on national systems of vocational training for adults, on training for women and for young adults, for instance. The OECD has worked similarly in sponsoring projects on educational opportunities for adults and adult access to higher education, among others.

United Nations agencies have been active in promoting and participating in large-scale learning schemes around the world. Unesco has been a force behind efforts to eradicate illiteracy, both among children and adults. It has collaborated with the WHO and the FAO in integrated rural development. These initiatives have, however, been confined to the Third World. Very little has been done to give concrete aid in Europe, where the need of states for such assistance has been less and where those under socialist regimes in particular have been unwilling to allow any foreign intervention in educational provision. For the United Nations, European states have been receivers of encouragement and exhortation as part of campaigns, such as World Literacy Year and Women's Education Year, but have been expected to act as givers of resources to the less prosperous parts of the world. International adult education programmes have been few in this continent. There have been exceptions. For example, under the aegis of the Council of Europe, agencies from Austria, Denmark, Federal Germany and the United Kingdom collaborated to produce video materials to be used in the training of adult educators.[23] The European Community, in addition to providing financial support for adult education in individual countries through the European Social Fund and from other Community sources,[24] is sponsoring multi-national co-operation in higher education, including programmes for the training of adult educators.[25]

Conferences, seminars, research projects and even educational campaigns, however numerous the participants and however widespread their recruitment, involve only a limited proportion of those engaged in adult education, whether as organizers, educators or learners. The world outside them is hardly touched at all. Dissemination of the knowledge collected and generated is highly dependent on its publication and transmission. International organizations, governmental and non-governmental, have done their best to ensure that it takes place. A constant stream of documents flows from them and only shortages of staffing and other resources prevent it becoming a flood. Research projects, educational programmes, conferences, working parties and seminars are written up and poured upon, it is hoped, the waiting world. To keep that world in touch regularly with what has been, is and will be going on in Europe and elsewhere, to encourage people to join in and reflect upon it, periodicals, such as Unesco's *Adult Education Information Notes*, and the EBAE's *Newsletter* are produced.

Even for those people who have an existing interest in what is taking place in other countries and on an international scale, it is difficult to keep abreast of developments and to know how to go about doing so. One needs to know how to get at the information available and such is the amount that one's search for knowledge is likely to end in confusion rather than enlightenment. This difficulty has given rise to what is, in effect, a minor branch of the information technology industry. To make documentation useful and used, information services have been set up, international guides and directories of education have been produced. Adult education is given a place in more general ones, not always as prominent as its practitioners would wish, but there have been some devoted specifically to it. Unesco's *Directory of Adult Education Documentation and Information Services* and the EBAE's *Directory of Adult Education Organizations in Europe* have run to several editions.[26] To meet the needs of computerized data storage and retrieval both Unesco and the Council of Europe have commissioned their own educational thesauri.[27]

The problem of language

A major obstacle in the way of cross-cultural communication, in addition to the sheer mass of material and the lack of co-ordination in its production, is created by the problem of language. In order to be utilized internationally, thesauri, for example, must be available in several languages. Only one term can be used to indicate each concept in the thesaurus and that term cannot be employed to signify any other. Where several synonyms are available only one can be chosen. Where in normal usage one term may have more than one meaning, in a thesaurus it may not. To denote its second and subsequent meanings other terms must be employed, if they are to be included in the thesaurus. If in normal language no synonym exists, then one must be created, or a term used in a sense different from its normal one. There is a certain arbitrariness in this process of choosing terms, which makes the terminology of thesauri, if not artificial languages, then artificial dialects. Since there are no generally agreed criteria for their creation, there may exist competing dialects and even thesauri within one culture, which complicates the internationalization of data storage and retrieval.

But the difficulties of implementing computerization and thesauri are only marginal to cross-cultural communication. The problems of language go back much further and extend much more widely. They are permanent and fundamental. For transactions between societies, oral or written, most people, whether as emitters or receivers of signals, must either carry them out in a language not their own—in Europe usually English, French, German or Russian—or rely on the work of a translator. As even polyglots usually have only one which is truly their native language, and in using the others filter their expression or reception to a greater or lesser degree through it, almost all linguistic communication outside one's native tongue is a process of translation. Theorists argue that perfect translation is impossible, for words carry with them socio-cultural overtones particular to the society in which they are uttered. They are only fully appreciated by those immersed in that society and cannot be conveyed by words in another society or language, which have their own overtones.[28] Nevertheless, in practice translation must be attempted, if cross-cultural communication is to take place, however imperfectly. If it is to be reliable, the participants or the translator need to have not only a good general knowledge of the relevant languages, but also a good understanding of the societies (and, for our purposes, their adult education) between which the communication is to take place. This condition is difficult to fulfil in those cases, which are frequent, where the whole purpose of the transaction is to arrive at that understanding.

There have been notable instances, some rooted in history, where this requirement has been inadequately met. For us a basic example is to be found in the primary concept. *Adult education* has limiting associations in Great Britain, not shared in the USA. In some other societies the cultural associations are so strong that terms accepted as equivalents either contain no translation at all of *adult* or else of *education*—the Czech *osveta* (enlightenment) and the Danish *folkeoplysning* (popular enlightenment). The French have used *éducation populaire* or *animation socio-culturelle*, which do not pretend to be equivalents, or, more recently, *formation continue*. This last term then leads on to the question of its relationship with the English *continuing education* and the German *Weiterbildung*. All very confusing, and one could continue with other long established concepts, involving the Danish, *folkehøjskole*, the English, *folk high school*, the German, *Volkshochschule*, and the French, *université populaire*.

As adult education concepts and practices have proliferated since the Second World War, so has the vocabulary. Terms to denote them have been created in the languages of the societies in which they have been evolved. In some cases these may be translated literally into other languages, without significant loss or distortion of meaning. In many cases, however, this is not possible, nor does a meaningful equivalent exist. In the most difficult cases, the concept itself is so foreign to another culture that it makes no sense and therefore no appropriate term to denote it can be found in the second language. For example, *fonds d'assurance formation* is an important concept in French vocational training for adults. It has no place in Spanish or British practice. Two alternative ways to render it in Spanish or English have been proposed, either a literal translation, as in the English *training insurance fund*, or the retention of the original French expression.[29] Neither is any help to understanding at all without explanation of its sense.

As cross-cultural communication is increasingly perceived as important and complex, serious attempts have been made to resolve this linguistic obstacle, by the production of multi-lingual dictionaries of adult education. Since that field's terminology 'is characterized rather by its richness than its precision' and is in constant evolution,[30] the EBAE decided not to confront the issue of achieving agreed descriptions of meanings, and to stick to the compilation of word-lists of the most commonly occurring expressions particular to adult education, with their nearest equivalents in other languages. Its own publication confined itself to English, French and German.[31] Unesco adopted a more ambitious and potentially more valuable, if more dangerous approach, by describing the meaning of each term included in its *Terminology of Adult Education*,[32] which included English, French and Spanish. It is clear that there was felt to be a need for works of both kinds, since they have spawned extensions in other languages.[33]

For a fully adequate relationship of the adult education of country A with one's own country, or with others, one needs not only to comprehend the languages, but provision should be quantified and the amount expressed in such a way as to permit meaningful comparisons between the countries. It is doubtful whether either of these conditions has been fully met anywhere. Unesco commissioned an *International Standard Classification of Education* to promote comparability of data.[34] For school and higher education, for which it was primarily designed, it appears to have been usable. Its attempt to include adult education showed, however, the compilers' lack of understanding of the field and the intractability of the problem. It was a failure.

Individual governments

This chapter has so far concentrated on the role of international organizations in cross-cultural communication since 1945, because they have formed a new element, and the most important one, in the process. They have, however, operated at a multi-national level. The interests of individual governments have inspired them to act independently at a bilateral level. In another contribution to this collection Stuart Marriott has touched on the misguided efforts of the British and United States authorities to impose their own concepts of adult education on the zones of Germany occupied by them after the Second World War. There is a danger at present that a not dissimilar introduction of Western European concepts may be attempted in former socialist states, this time not by imposition but by invitation.

A possibly less risky response has been seen in the readiness of governments to look to others' experience, when they have been considering action in their own—even if these observations rarely seem to have influenced their decisions. When the Russell Committee was preparing its recommendations on the future of non-vocational adult education in England and Wales, members visited the Federal Republic, Finland, Sweden and Yugoslavia.[35] The Alexander Committee, the parallel to Russell in Scotland, included Sweden, Finland and France in its itinerary and according to some observers, its report showed some influence of *animation socio-culturelle*.[36] When under pressure to introduce some right to paid educational leave into the United Kingdom, the Department of Education and Science sponsored a study of PEL experience in France, Federal Germany and Sweden.[37] Since the passing of the Single European Act the author of this chapter has been interviewed or sent questionnaires by researchers from France, Federal Germany and the Netherlands, all engaged in projects financed by their governments. Their purpose has been to investigate the structure of adult/continuing education in other member states of the European Community.[38]

Private initiative

The domination of governments since 1945 has not made irrelevant the actions of private groups and individuals. To a large extent state interest has given a fillip to their work, much of which would have been impossible without government subsidy. Without this private involvement states and international government bodies would not have operated at all, or would have recruited even larger permanent bureaucracies than they already have. The employment on temporary contracts of independent individuals or groups has leavened the dough of the in-house perspective, which might otherwise have been flattened by the weight of political and career considerations. In spite of the impetus given by certain of the permanent staff, intergovernmental organizations have tended to behave reactively rather than proactively. Possibly, one may argue, that is what they are supposed to do, to respond to the collective will of member states. It is not their job to go out and about seeking new tasks, they already have enough to do. The agents of individual governments may make similar claims for avoiding innovation. This has left gaps to be filled by private initiative. To take only a few examples in European adult education, action on women's studies, the education of ethnic minorities, and problems of illiteracy and innumeracy among the native-born, including cross-cultural communication on these subjects, was begun by voluntary associations and it was under their pressure that they rose to the agendas of national ministries and to non-governmental associations, notably EBAE, and then to intergovernmental bodies.

Barry Hake's view that ideas about adult education were in the past borne from country to country by individuals on the back of social movements[39] is still true today. Hake also contends that 'voluntary associations are engaged in the defence of the rights of autonomous organizations to influence public opinion in the face of a predatory capitalist State which reduces the expression of social values to the individualized privacy of market forces.'[40] It is a splendid piece of polemic and there is a certain element of truth in it, but it is doubtful whether the majority of voluntary bodies would see themselves as being primarily inspired by such motives. If they were, they would be ill-placed to be effective. The boundaries between the public and the private in all adult education are too blurred for such a clear-cut confrontation to be convincing. Voluntary associations have become part of their apparatus. If one is to be legalistic, the EBEA and the various national associations which make up its membership are non-governmental, but they are closely tied to government. Most would find it difficult to survive without state subsidy. Many undertake tasks for state or intergovernmental bodies. On the other hand, a high proportion, if not the majority, of those apparently private individuals who have made significant contributions to cross-cultural communication in adult education, work in higher education. In most European countries they are thus state employees, paid to engage in research and the dissemination of knowledge; technically such individual work is not private enterprise, voluntary or otherwise. In reality, and it is one of the remaining graces of our higher education systems, in research and publication they operate for the most part as free and independent agents.

Scholars in their personal capacity and voluntary groups may claim to have a necessary function in the communication activities of states and intergovernmental agencies. A strong argument may also be made that they should retain the freedom and the will to distance themselves from this role and to operate independently when circumstances demand. Otherwise the limits of intercultural communication will be set by governments singly or collectively. Adult education can be seen as part of the state educational apparatus, as indeed it is, but it is not only that. In Western Europe its concerns have never been coterminous with those of government. They go further. If transmission of information and ideas is left in the hands of governmental bodies, even in cases where voluntary associations and individuals exert a leavening influence, as they do now, then only that matter which is of concern to states will be sure of significant communication across cultures. Since governments have only limited funds and even more limited ones that they are willing to allocate to adult education, their aid for it is already selective. No act of repression or blockage would be required to inhibit effective dissemination of information, a simple failure to support it would be sufficient. Fortuitous and occasional passages of knowledge across frontiers would no doubt take place, of the kind that occurred in the nineteenth century, but they would be hard put to it to compete for attention with the efforts of the state. Adult education therefore requires strong and effective voices of its own, diverse ones too in order to give expression to its own diversity.

More disadvantages of intergovernmental bodies

There are other disadvantages in the domination of cross-cultural activities by intergovernmental bodies, not least their structure and constitution. Adult education has prided itself on its adaptability to changing needs. In spite of the contribution of outside scholars, Unesco and its fellow international bodies are rigid and ponderous. United Nations agencies are highly politicized too. Unesco and the ILO particularly were battlefields of the Cold War. It is a truism that all education is political, but in these organizations adult education suffered from conflicts to which it was of marginal relevance. In the struggle between Third World and Western advanced countries for control of Unesco at the beginning of the 1980s European projects, including those involving adult education, became casualties. For example CROASAEE was ended, although its work was incomplete.

At all times personnel of international agencies have been careful not to offend member states. This may help to explain why, although studies of adult education practices have been carried out in a number of countries, reports of these projects almost never include analytical comparison of one country with another. CROASAEE never got as far as the comparison that was one of its original goals. It is true that the lack of comparable data, already mentioned, formed one obstacle. Another was, however, the need, if they were to be published by ECLE, to arrive at reports generally acceptable to the states under study. Frank analytical comparison of one state with another might arrive at conclusions which could be construed as critical of individual states. It was felt impossible to ensure that this danger was avoided without producing publications of such blandness as to be of little value.

Perhaps the lack of analysis may be of little consequence. To make sense of communication with any foreign culture one has inevitably to compare it with one's own experience, that is, with one's own culture. Therefore the reader of CROASAEE single nation reports will carry out comparison anyway. It may be biassed, but then so is any communication, not least that of specialists. The latter have, however, extra knowledge and insight to contribute, which should not be taken as gospel, but may illuminate one's own reading and add depth, and breadth. It is this which is missing from much work sponsored by intergovernmental agencies.

Against this some people would argue that the judgements of experts, especially those commissioned and communicated by intergovernmental organizations, tend to be accepted too uncritically. There is certainly clear evidence that, because they belong to the United Nations, the publications of its agencies are accorded an authority that often they do not deserve, nor do they claim. This happens most in the Third World, but is far from unknown in Europe. Unesco's *The Terminology of Adult Education* was intended to be informative, but not normative. For some time after its appearance, however, its compilers found that some people treated its descriptions of the meaning of terms not as accounts of how they were used, but of how they ought to be used.

Conclusion

Cross-cultural communication in adult education has grown so much since 1945 that it is not only different in scale but also in kind. It is plentiful, complex and systematic. One would be hard put to it to distinguish, from the mass, clear-cut cases of individual or small group initiative, of intimate human relationships, of the kind that occurred in the last years of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this. The big public battalions have taken over, although without completely putting independent private enterprise out of business. This is the impression one obtains from a broad overview of the kind attempted here.

But this article can only provide an opening to the period. All of the topics considered need deeper examination. Further investigation of specific features of the map sketched out here would no doubt fill in and, in some cases, modify the picture presented. A reading of this chapter may suggest questions on which such studies might usefully concentrate. What, for example, have been the differences in purpose and achievement between governmental, intergovernmental and voluntary bodies? What has been their ideological dynamic? How important has it been? They have not remained static over the years. What has motivated change, what form has it taken and how has it affected cross-cultural communication? What connection have the professionalization of adult education and the expanding role of the international expert with growing exchanges between societies?

In spite of all the efforts to expand cross-cultural communication, to understand and improve the processes and structures of transmission, the material appears to reach only certain levels in any European country. It is not certain how much even governments, national organizations and scholars take in. Perhaps there is too much to digest. It is sure that only a limited amount percolates down to the grass roots of adult education, if any at all. When it does, it frequently seems to be distorted in transmission or reception. It is not even evident that the ordinary educator wants to know, although in writing that I am aware that I do so from a culture particularly indifferent to others. Further study might help to identify more certainly the reasons for such limited success over the last half century. It might even provide us with more solid evidence on which to judge whether all the effort expended on promoting systematic cross-cultural communication in adult education as a matter of policy is proving worthwhile.

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10

A Geneva Experiment in University Extension in the 1890s

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Geneva

Introduction

The *Université ouvrière de Genève* (Workers' University of Geneva), which is still in existence, was founded in 1905 by trade unionists and Social Democrats.[1] Its prehistory goes back to the early 1890s, and in its earliest origins it owed something to the influence of the university extension movement. At the end of the nineteenth century experiments in university extension were begun in Geneva, but did not survive for very long. Two attempts were made: the first, in 1892–93, was a failure; the second attempt, in 1897–99, although more successful, was not carried forward. In spite of its brief history, this experiment is interesting, mainly because it presents in a nutshell many questions related to the aims and methods of adult (more specifically workers') education at that time.

This chapter focuses on a very specific and local reality, being related to research conducted on the provision of courses for adults in Geneva between 1846 and 1914.[2] Nevertheless, it should be noted that in the German-speaking part of Switzerland the university extension movement can be seen as part of the prehistory of the *Volkshochschulen* (popular universities) founded in 1919 in Bern, Basel and Zürich. Before the First World War, a number of popular lectures and courses in those three cantons were inspired by or otherwise connected with the idea of university extension.[3]

The historical context

For a better understanding of the Geneva university extension experiment, a brief overview of the historical background is required. The canton of Geneva (which became part of the Swiss Confederation in 1814) went through major changes during the second part of the nineteenth century. The *Révolution radicale* (liberal revolution) of 1846 introduced a new era. The dismantling of the fortifications surrounding the city in 1849 originated a considerable urban expansion. Then the period 1860–90 produced a 'local industrial revolution',[4] driven by the development of new sectors of industry such as chemicals and engineering; on the other hand the 'traditional' clock-making industry lost ground, mainly because of competition from other countries. There was also rapid demographic expansion: the canton had 64,146 inhabitants in 1850, 105,509 in 1888 and 171,955 in 1914 . This population growth was the result of substantial immigration from other Swiss cantons as well as from abroad (mainly France, Italy and Germany). The proportion of foreigners in Geneva was 24 per cent in 1850, 38 per cent in 1888 and 41 per cent in 1914.[5]

A number of major strikes took place between 1868 and 1903. The workers' movement was influenced by Swiss-German and foreign immigrants. It consisted of various currents which may be briefly mentioned: the moderate *Grütli*-Association (founded in 1838, and to begin with devoted primarily to education); the First International Workers Association, which held its first congress in Geneva in 1866; the Anarchist movement (present in certain trade unions); the *Parti ouvrier socialiste* founded in 1892 which was an amalgamation of different tendencies of the workers' movement (*Grütli*, Social Democrats, and various trade unions). Finally, the liberals had for a long time a strong implantation within the local working class (especially the clock-makers) who had supported the revolution of 1846.[6]

Liberal governments introduced successive laws on Public Education. In 1848, schooling became public, secular, and free; in 1872 it was made compulsory for all children between the ages of 6 and 13 and the former *Académie* (founded in 1559) became a university; in 1886 the upper limit of compulsory schooling was raised from 13 to 15.[7]

As far as adult education—more precisely courses for adults—was concerned, many public and private initiatives were taken during the second part of the nineteenth century. I shall provide a few examples. Several institutions offered vocationally-related training for workers or employees: the *Association des Commis de Genève* (a professional association of office employees) from 1870, the *Académie professionnelle de la Ville de Genève* from 1883, the YMCA of Geneva from 1887, and the *Union des femmes de Genève* (women's union) from 1892. Most of the institutions mentioned also offered lectures on non-vocational topics. From 1856 the Department of Public Education organized public courses mainly on general topics (such as literature, history, science). These courses were mentioned for the first time in the Law on Public Education of 1848. As far as workers' education is concerned, the educational orientation of the *Grütli*-Association has already been mentioned; additionally the International Workers Association organized courses during the 1860s.

University Extension in Geneva

The influence of the University Extension movement

The British 'University Extension' as well as the 'University Settlements' were known to some of those who initiated the Geneva experiment (for biographical details see the section of References and Notes below). Indeed some of them had direct contacts with these institutions. Emile Yung had visited the Summer meetings in Scotland in 1892, René Claparède had been several times at Toynbee Hall in London. Both, in the articles they wrote on this subject,[8] gave the impression of being enthusiastic about what they had experienced. Emile Yung, as well as Eugène Pittard[9] considered that university extension ought to be introduced to Geneva, although with adaptations to suit local conditions. The two attempts made under the label of *Extension universitaire* in Geneva were in fact quite different from the 'English model', above all because the results fell far short of what was achieved in England.

The first attempt: 1892–93

In 1892 a group of professors and students of the University of Geneva founded the *Association des étudiants pour les séances populaires* (Students' Association for popular meetings). It has not proved possible to locate any documents concerning this association; however, it is known that two major students' associations, *Belles-Lettres* and *Zofingue*, were also involved in the project.[10] Inspired by the university extension movement in England, the *Association des étudiants pour les séances populaires* decided to organize evening sessions for workers; the programme of classes was planned to include on each occasion a short and easily understandable lecture, a poetry-reading and a musical recital.

The sessions started in spring 1892 and took place in three different popular districts of Geneva, often in parish halls. Three groups of students took over the practical organization, prepared the lectures and reading. Over twenty sessions took place between 1892 and 1893. The subjects of the lectures were either practical (for example, saving, nutrition, prevention of infectious diseases) or related to literature and scientific questions (biology, prehistory). The first session, devoted to saving, was attended by about forty persons, but after only a short time, attendances fell. In spring 1893 the student in charge of a lecture on Edison found himself in an empty hall!

In an article written in 1898, Pittard described this first experiment and analysed its failure. According to him, the following reasons could explain the collapse of the undertaking:

- the lack of experience of the students in teaching and specially in the 'art of vulgarization' (popularization), as well as a lack of authority resulting from their youthfulness;
- the inappropriateness of certain parts of the sessions (that is, music and poetry-reading) to the audience. (Pittard described how one of his fellow-students from the South of France one evening recited poems in the *Provençal* dialect which obviously no-one was able to understand);
- the fact that the instigators had not previously contacted the workers' organizations to enquire about the adequacy of their action.

Concluding this evaluation, Pittard underlined that 'above all, we were not able to overcome this difficult task and we were not quite conscious of our responsibilities'.[11]

The second attempt: 1897–99

Before starting the second venture, the initiators—among them René Claparède, and Pittard again—met the leaders of the *Fédération des sociétés ouvrières de Genève* (federation of the workers' societies of Geneva) several times. They discussed the apppropriateness of lectures intended for the workers. The project was also submitted to a general meeting of the trade unions where it was 'warmly welcomed' according to Pittard.[12] The favourable attitude of the trade unionists was matched also in *Le Peuple de Genève*, where the lectures were subsequently announced and vigorously recommended to the workers. This weekly journal of the *Fédération des sociétés ouvrières* and the *Parti ouvrier socialiste* is the only source so far located which presents the point of view of the workers' organizations on the university extension experiment.

The workers' societies took over the printing and dissemination of the programmes. Pittard addressed the *Conseil Administratif* (the executive body of Geneva city government) with a request for a suitable hall. (In his application, he presented the programme of the lectures and stipulated that they should not treat political or religious issues). The *Conseil Administratif* put a large room, in one of the municipal schools, at the disposal of the organizers free of charge.

The lecture courses began in December 1897. There were three series: December 1897–February 1898 (ten meetings), March 1898 (four meetings), February–March 1899 (seven meetings). The lectures dealt mainly with literary or scientific topics (history, biology, geography), though some of them treated more practical issues related to medicine and social insurance. Each lecture was devoted to a different topic. Sometimes, a written summary of the conference was distributed to the audience. The lecturers were grammar-school teachers, doctors, lawyers, university professors.

Pittard, in the article already mentioned, as well as in his correspondence with the *Conseil Administratif*, reported a large attendance at the lectures (between three and five hundred people). Sometimes, there was such a crowd that people had to be turned away. He also reported that many lectures concluded with lively discussion between the audience and the speaker. The documentary evidence reveals little about the sort of people attending the lectures. Most probably they were mainly workers. According to the announcement of the lectures printed in the *Peuple de Genève* the workers 'are asked to come in their working clothes. It is not necessary to dress.'[13] We do not know the age of the auditors, nor whether many women attended.

Later developments

The lectures given under the label of *Extension universitaire* in Geneva seem to have come to an end in spring 1899. Very little is recorded about the interruption of this experiment.

The article by Pittard referred to in earlier paragraphs was written in 1898. The author declared that 'the attempt of the winter 1897–1898 can be considered as satisfactory'.[14] He also suggested that the continuation of the work would depend upon decisions to be taken by the *Fédération des sociétés* *ouvrières*. He wished to extend the experiment, considering the lectures merely as a first stage. Drawing on the English model of the University Extension, but adapting it to Genevan realites, Pittard planned to complement them with classes in which the topics could be treated in greater detail and the participants could discuss and ask questions. Summaries of all the lectures should also be distributed to the participants. Furthermore, he evoked the possibility of organizing scientific excursions on Sundays in the country around Geneva. Pittard insisted on the necessity of offering lectures and classes in different districts of the city, in places were the worker could feel 'at home', where he had no need to change his clothes to attend the meetings. Yet, the projects outlined by Pittard in 1898 did not come to fruition. Only one further series of lectures was organized, in winter 1899, as mentioned previously.

It should be noted that the workers' societies (*Fédération des sociétés ouvrières*, and later the *Union ouvrière* and the *Parti ouvrier socialiste*) themselves organized other series of lectures between 1900 and 1901. In the winter of 1900, ten lessons on the human body and its functions were given by Pittard and five lectures in psychology by a university professor. In the following winter, a large series of forty-eight popular lectures was begun, dealing with scientific and social issues, as well as practical ones. An important section of twenty lessons was devoted to the history of socialism. The lecturers included scholars (some of them the same as in 1897–99), but also socialist politicians. The lectures took place in the same school-hall as those of the university extension experiment of 1897–99. (This time, however, the accommodation was not provided free of charge, the *Conseil Administratif* charging the *Union ouvrière* a small sum for each evening's use.) In contrast to the lectures organized by Pittard and his colleagues, in this programme nearly every subject extended over several sessions. According to the announcements and reports made in the *Peuple de Genève*, the lectures, taking place two or three times a week, started in January 1901 and lasted until April of the same year. Out of the forty-eight planned, only thirty-five were given. The reviews of many of the lectures published in the *Peuple de Genève* were generally very positive about the teaching staff and underlined their interest in the subjects treated. According to these reports, the lectures were well attended. It is interesting to note that, like Pittard with the university extension lectures, the promoters of this new series presented their undertaking as an attempt which, if successful, should be extended and deepened in the following year. However, the experiment came to an end prematurely, and no explanation was recorded.

The idea of a university extension in Geneva appeared once more in March 1902. Adrien Wyss (1856–1938), physician and teaching fellow at the Faculty of Medicine of Geneva University and socialist member of the *Grand Conseil* (cantonal parliament), submitted a bill proposing the creation of popular university courses.[15] Evening courses dealing with various science and arts subjects were to be held at the university and taught by professors and other famous scholars. They would be open to a large public of men and women over 18—teachers, former university students, tradesmen, craftsmen, workers, and so on—who wished to enlarge their scientific knowledge. In his presentation of the project to the cantonal parliament, Wyss referred to several examples abroad: the English university extension, the *Humboldt-Akademie* in Germany, the *Université populaire* in France. He mentioned the attempts of *Extension universitaire* in Geneva in the past years and noted that their interruption was probably due to the lack of financial means. Wyss pointed out that since the Geneva University had a majority of foreign students (as many as 68 per cent in 1900/01),[16] many citizens wondered if it was worth while supporting an expensive institution which benefited mainly outsiders. His own view was that if the native population did not profit from the university, it was largely because the cost of study was too high for most of them. Eventually study at the university ought to be made free of charge. Until then, the popular courses he proposed would allow a larger part of the population to benefit from the scientific knowledge developed at the university. The debate on this proposal produced a general agreement with the idea put forward by Wyss, though some questions were raised regarding the organization, content and costs of this project. A commission was set up to re-examine the proposal. However, the project received no further discussion in parliament and therefore was never carried out.

Discussion

Trying to discover why an educational experiment turned out to be 'successful' or 'unsuccessful' is in general a difficult undertaking. It becomes even more difficult when there is little evidence of evaluation of the experiment by the actors themselves or by contemporary witnesses. In the documents consulted in the course of this research, there are indeed few explicit explanations to be found for the short duration of the university extension experiment. I shall therefore offer a number of possible explanations, based mainly on the documents written by the actors involved. Since these attempts at explanation refer to some major issues of adult education and specifically of workers' education in the period considered, I hope they may provoke a discussion of similar educational experiences in other European countries. There is a whole set of reasons which may explain the short life of the university extension experiment in Geneva. I choose to analyse them at three different levels, identified as practical organization, didactic issues, and educational conceptions.

Practical organization

When he presented his proposal to the *Grand Conseil* for a law on University Extension courses in 1902 Wyss, referring to the attempts of the 1890s, assumed that these had not lasted because of the lack of financial resources. It must be noted that admission to the lectures was free and that lecturers and organizers were volunteers. As mentioned above, free use of a conference hall was granted by the municipality. According to Pittard,[17] one of the lecturers in the series of 1897–98 personally contributed a financial subsidy. The precariousness of the finances might well, then, have been a bar to any long-term undertaking.

Another point is related to the fact that workers had long working-hours and little leisure time (a general problem of education for adults at that time which affected not only workers, but also salaried employees for instance). The *Peuple de Genève* raised this question in connection with the decline of attendance at university extension lectures during the spring term of 1899: 'when the workers will work 8 or 9 hours a day instead of 11, maybe they will be fitter, physically and mentally, to attend lectures in the evening'.[18] The problem of the eleven-hour day was again mentioned in the same journal two years later, in connection with the new series of lectures set up by the workers' organizations.

Didactic issues

One problem is suggested by the fact that each lecture was devoted to a different subject. One has the impression of a 'patchwork' of disconnected topics; and furthermore, one may wonder how it was possible to deal with

'Jean-Jacques Rousseau, his childhood and his family', 'Prehistoric man' or 'How to treat small injuries'—to quote some titles of lectures actually given—in little more than one hour.

As already noted, Pittard himself considered the lectures merely as a first stage which should be followed up with classes. The workers' organizations, when they set up their own series of lectures in 1900–01, for the most part allotted several lectures to each of the subjects to be covered. Wyss, in his legislative proposal of 1902, suggested that from five to twenty sessions ought to be devoted to each of the subject. He referred to the previously-mentioned open courses of the Department of Public Education, given in the form of single lectures, which did not allow the listeners to attain knowledge in any depth.

A further question, related to the appropriate handling of popularization, was raised to by Pittard in his evaluation of the first attempt of 1892–93. Emile Yung, one of the lecturers of the Geneva University Extension, with reference to the university extension movement in England and Scotland, pointed out the challenge of popularization: courses have to be given 'similar to those given in the universities, certainly a little simpler, more concentrated and more general, as well as more popular, but without vulgarity and without sacrificing the precision and the dignity of science'.[19] These words of Yung suggest that the practice of popular education raised a methodological issue (to simplify, concentrate and generalize knowledge), and at the same time a 'political' one (to be popular without vulgarity, and without sacrificing the precision and the dignity of science). It is worth noting that the risks of popularity and of superficiality were emphasized not only by supporters of university extension and others concerned to find appropriate methods of popular education, but also by the very opponents of that movement, eager to defend and maintain an élitist idea of the university.[20]

Educational conceptions of the partners involved

In the documents consulted for this research, there is no evidence of disagreements between trade unionists and academics, of a kind which might explain, among other things, the interruption of the second attempt of 1897–99. Nevertheless, the workers' organizations carried on the lecture activity on their own initiative in 1900–01, and so one may surmise that some misunderstanding or even conflict arose between the two sides. This supposition can be made broadly on the basis of the antagonism between social classes. I will rather attempt, in this particular case, to find the source of possible conflict in the different ideas regarding the aims of workers' education expressed by the two partners in the experiment.

The conception of workers' education of the initiators of the Geneva university extension can be analysed at three different levels of motives. (I take a lead here from the distinction made by Schäfer between three patterns of legitimation of university extension work in the German setting.)[21]

Ethical-humanitarian motives: access to cultural goods and to the discoveries of science was to be facilitated for people who had not had a chance to acquire a broad education during childhood and youth. Culture and science were seen as superior goods, as sources of pleasure which all people needed, and in which they were entitled to participate.[22]

Socio-political motives: access to cultural and scientific goods also had a function of integrating the working classes into society and of social pacification. Yung, referring to the first initiatives of university extension in England, spoke of a 'strong stream of sympathy spreading through all classes of the society'.[23] René Claparède, in his article on Toynbee Hall, underlined the efforts made to 'bring together social classes who ignore or even despise and hate one another' and to 'bridge the gap between educated and working classes'.[24] Wyss concluded the presentation of his legislative proposal on university extension at the *Grand Conseil* in the following words: 'Raising the intellectual level of the people in order to bring them nearer to the living sources of science, [...] is that not the best way for us to come closer to happiness and to realize peace and brotherhood among men?'[25] One might also suppose that this conclusion was tactical, coming from a socialist politician trying to convince his colleagues from the bourgeois parties (Liberals and Conservatives), who represented the large majority of the *Grand Conseil*. The idea of workers' education as a means of social pacification and integration was widespread. As a further example, the *Volkshochschulen* in the German-speaking part of Switzerland should be mentioned. Their foundation in 1919 was partly motivated by the shock produced by the general strike of 1918, and particularly by the confrontation between the striking workers and the army.

Economic-political motives: these were clearly revealed in Wyss's arguments presented to the *Grand Conseil*: the university is an expensive institution for the community, yet few citizens can benefit from the knowledge developed and taught in the *alma mater*. As already mentioned, university extension courses were, for Wyss, a first step towards democratization of university studies. Yet, those courses could also be seen as a strategy for a better acceptance of the university by the tax-paying population.

The conception of workers' education embraced by the workers' organizations themselves appears in the columns of *Le Peuple de Genève* in relation to the lectures given in the years 1897–1901. The initiative taken by Pittard and his colleagues was welcomed, and the importance of workers having access to scientific knowledge as well as to culture was stressed. The way towards intellectual knowledge was described as a difficult but rewarding 'march towards light'. The working class was also presented as 'having a thirst for light, science and truth'. Attendance at the lectures was therefore strongly recommended to the workers.[26] However, the efforts required from the workers were also emphasized. The problem of fatigue resulting from the long working-day have already been mentioned. Furthermore, the encouragement offered at the time of the extension lectures of 1897 to the public to come in their working clothes suggests a social distance between the everyday life of the workers and the practice of lecture-going.

Furthermore, the workers' access to scientific knowledge was also presented as a preparation of the 'birth of the new society', as a means of the worker's emancipation.[27] The programme set up by the workers' organizations in 1901 reflected concern about social change, a large section being specifically given over to the history of socialism. A few years later, one of the aims pursued by the lectures provided within the framework of the *Université ouvrière* was to widen the worker's knowledge of economics so that he could be a good trade unionist and propagandist.[28]

In the documents on which this study draws the major difference between the partners involved in the Geneva university extension concerned change as an objective of workers' education. The aim of social pacification advocated by some of the initiators of the lectures stood in contradiction to the workers' conception of education as a means of social change. In this context, one must remember that the contents of the lectures of the university extension period were 'politically (and religiously) neutral'.

Furthermore, if the initiators underlined the importance of the access of workers to science and culture, it was not primarily from a perspective of individual change to be achieved through social promotion. Pittard stated that only a minority wanted to reach a better social position through education.[29] Yung, referring to the situation in England, noticed that very few people gained access to university through the programmes of university extension. He added that 'the universities do not have to be afraid of being invaded by the working class, they are not exposed to the misdeed of producing "unclassed persons" '.[30] He asserted also that it was

> fair to half-open the university door to the common people, because, while remaining a simple factory-worker, farmer, shop-assistant or office-clerk, the University Extension student can develop his intellectual inclinations and, without prejudice to his manual work, he can acquire knowledge which will be a source of intense and healthy enjoyment, and capable of bringing ideals into his whole existence.[31]

Indications of differing views on workers' education suggest that here may have lain one possible explanation for the interruption of co-operation between the initiators of the university extension and the workers' organizations. However, the break was not final. As already mentioned, some of the teachers of the extension period were asked to give lectures arranged by the workers' organizations in 1900–01. Later on, the *Université ouvrière*, founded in 1905 by the same workers' organizations (that is, trade unions and Social Democrats) often invited professors from the university to lecture. Pittard himself delivered an address at the fiftieth-anniversary celebrations of the *Université ouvrière*. Finally, it should be mentioned that the contacts with the university have been maintained up to the present day, one academic representative sitting on the Board of Governors of the *Université ouvrière*. This evolution suggests that the experiment of university extension in the 1890s, however short-lived, did plant the seeds of a long-lasting co-operation.

Notes and references

Biographical details

Edouard Claparède (1873–1940): a well-known psychologist, was professor of psychology at the Faculty of Science, University of Geneva and co-founder in 1912 of the *Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (which became later the Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences).

René Claparède (1863–1928): brother of Edouard, was a writer and member of Swiss and international philanthropic associations.

Eugène Pittard (1867–1962): held a doctorate in natural sciences and began his career as a master at the *Collège* (grammar school). In 1908, he became professor at the University of Geneva and inaugurated the chair of anthropology and prehistory in 1916. He was also founder and director of the Ethnographic Museum (1901–51) and member of several scientific societies in Switzerland and abroad.

Emile Yung (1854–1913): held a doctorate in natural sciences and initially taught at the *Collège*. He became professor of zoology and anatomy at the University of Geneva in 1886 and belonged to various scientific societies in Switzerland and France.

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23 Yung (1893), 227.

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11

Debate or Babel? University extension in The Netherlands

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The reception of an educational innovation often provokes debate over the purpose of the innovation, or the suitability of the innovation for a particular society. Sometimes, however, the debate resembles more a Babel of tongues; people seem to hear each other but are not able or not willing to understand, or they just seem to be deaf. To attribute this confusion to problems with language or meaning seems to be too easy. The confrontation of ideologies seems to play an essential part in this process.[1] In this chapter, an analysis is made of the debate on the relationship between the university and the lower classes in general, and on the functions of the university in particular. In this way, we seek to deepen understanding of the course followed by the reception of university extension in The Netherlands. University extension is understood here as a late-nineteenth-century educational practice in England which was concerned with the moral enlightenment of people by means of academic education.[2] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the European Continent and the United States became acquainted with this new approach.[3]

In contrast to studies of developments in other countries,[4] historical work on Dutch university extension has mainly concentrated on its relationship to popular education.[5] Though the relationship to higher education has also attracted comment,[6] it has never been the subject of a detailed study. As a consequence, the explanation of the cautious attitude of the universities towards university extension suggested in these accounts, is not satisfactory when compared to studies, previously cited, of the historical situation in other countries. The subject demands more original research, which will do justice to the relationship between university extension and university education, including an analysis of the debate on the relationship between the university and the working class. The relationship with popular education should not be neglected however. The introduction of university extension confronted two institutions, university and popular education, whose relations with each other had never been close. Both institutions had their place in Dutch society, along with their educational and political ideological background and engagements, with struggles and changes.

During the late nineteenth century, the Dutch university had developed from an ivory tower to a schooling institute working for the wider benefit of society, from an institute educating the higher classes to one training the most talented individuals, from an institute with an aristocratic to one with a meritocratic ideology.[7] In the same period Dutch popular education applied new practices such as 'Toynbee-work', which introduced personal contact between the 'civilized' and the 'uncivilized', to control the problems consequent on industrialization. At the same time it did not shed its paternalistic ideology.[8] The question is whether the introduction of university extension led to a confrontation between the educational, even political, ideologies of these two tradition of provision. The assumption of this chapter is that there was a confrontation, and moreover that in this encounter power relations became evident.

Since the process of reception does not take place in an ideological vacuum, a broader time-span than that of the extension phase itself must be considered. This chapter is based on an inventory of the debates on the relationship between university and the lower classes, as it was dealt with in the national, liberal press in the period 1876 to 1914. The controversial Act on Higher Education of 1876 explains the choice of lower limit, whereas the last article on university extension, which appeared in 1914, accounts for the upper limit. For the analysis of this wider debate, I have examined the better-known national liberal magazines that commented on educational and social issues: the *Sociaal Weekblad* (Social Weekly), *Vragen des Tijds* (Contemporary Issues), *De Economist* (The Economist), *De Kroniek* (The Chronicle) and *De Gids* (The Guide). The choice fell on the national liberal press, because it could be expected to yield writing by representatives of both institutions. In this period, the Liberals were the most powerful political group. Especially in the last decade of the nineteenth century they were the ruling force, whereas after 1901, coalition and Liberal governments ruled the country alternately. Moreover, they had a majority representation within the establishment of higher education; indeed, the universities were Liberal bastions.[9] Popular education was also dominated by the Liberals, although the connection with confessional movements was also strong.[10]

For the more particular debate that accompanied the reception of university extension, I have adopted the 'snowball' method which involves the use of references in magazines and books cumulatively to trace articles contributing to the discussion of a given topic. To avoid repetition only a selection of the articles identified is used here. In this chapter I first describe developments in university and popular education; the attention is focused on the analysis of the debate over the relationship between the university and the lower classes; after which the chapter closes with some concluding remarks about the reception of university extension in The Netherlands.

Controversies within university education

Until the 1880s and 1890s discussion of the relationship between the university and the lower classes was rare in The Netherlands. In 1829, the Leiden professor Reuvens criticized the limited accessibility of the university, though without any result.[11] Only at the end of the nineteenth century did the issue receive more attention. The questions that preoccupied the university world were mostly concerned with the consequences of the 1876 Act on Higher Education, especially regarding academic vocational education and qualifications. Although at first sight these controversies do not seem to be connected with university extension, they have to be examined since they yield insight into the ideological background of the development of university education. This background influenced reactions to the debate on the relationship between university and the lower classes.

The 1876 Act brought about several major changes. The legislation stated that the aim of university education was: 'to educate and prepare for the independent practice of science and practice of social functions that require an academic education'. Not only did the Act influence the organization of higher education, but also the university's relationship with and the position in society. Internal change demands an investigation of external reactions.

The 1876 Act gave a legal basis to the modernization of university studies, especially through the introduction of advanced vocational education. The ensuing criticism can be characterized in part as a preference for the past, and regret at the erosion of liberal education. Van Geer, professor in Leiden, member of the *Nut* (*Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*—Society for the Common Weal) and himself the son of a blacksmith, opposed academic vocational education in *Vragen des Tijds*: not only did it develop at the expense of the freedom of professors, but also of liberal education and thus of the broad education of the students.[12] Professor A. G. van Hamel from Groningen, later a protagonist of university extension within the *Nut*, also regretted this loss for the same reason.[13]

The second form of reaction was seen in the universities' attempt to create a distinct profile for themselves. The introduction of academic vocational education reduced the differentiation from secondary schooling, especially polytechnic instruction, and this was not acceptable. This controversy was settled, according to van Geer, writing in 1894, when the Minister of Internal Affairs laid down a distinction between 'academic' and other education.[14] Here it was not the aim (social function), but the content (vocational or academic education) which was deemed significant. The polytechnic schools could produce alumni whose functions required just as much advanced knowledge as those of university graduates; their actual higher studies, however, were not to be accepted as on a level with real academic education.

A more positive assessment came from Salverda de Grave, an early comparative educationist, who argued that the new law would make education attractive to those with few financial means, since academic vocational training was a direct avenue into employment.[15] For the same reason de Grave preferred Dutch to English university education. This commentary was the first to draw attention to the possibility of university education for the lower classes.

Admission to and graduation from the university continued to be regulated by examinations after the Act of 1876. But whereas before that year access was by way of a state entrance test, subsequently anyone who held the *gymnasium* certificate could be admitted to university. Moreover, the *Hogere Burgerschool* (upper civic school), a secondary system established for the rising middle class, only provided provided a route to medical studies.[16] In any case, a financial contribution was required. Whereas before 1876 a student had paid a fee for each course, he now paid a consolidated tuition fee of Fl 200. However, all courses were open to any student. Opinions on this financial barrier varied. Van Hamel approved, on the grounds that it benefited liberal education: 'Our Dutch legislature made a step in the right direction, when it obliged every student to pay one sum as tuition fees, instead of a sum for every course, and granted them permission to attend every course. Such a measure aims to encourage a varied and liberal education.' But van Geer regretted this change in the law, since it harmed those who wished to attend just a few courses.[17] The liberal women's movement seemed to be content with the condition of university education. The author Aletta Jacobs, the first woman to take the PhD, in 1879, was an active participant in the women's franchise movement. She stressed that men and women now enjoyed equal access, and therefore admittance to university was not a matter for debate; indeed, the Dutch were setting an example to other countries.[18]

In short, during the latter part of the nineteenth century higher education changed from something intended solely for the education of the upper classes into a modern institution more responsive to the needs of a society hampered by retarded industrialization. This socialization of the university was marked by changes in the law. In the first place, there was the issue of advanced vocational training. In the second place, there was the issue of selection, examinations, and of the restricted flow through *Hogere Burgerschool* to the university. The system was reorganized increasingly in favour of individual achievement and skill, and away from the idea of class education. The surrounding debate showed variable appreciation of and discontent about these changes. However, the admittance to university of the lower classes formed no part of the discussion. The financial barrier was considered either to be no barrier at all, rather the main entrance to true liberal education, or to be a disincentive to the 'continuing education' of the individual who had already received an advanced training. In sum, at the end of the century the university had become an educational institution more attuned to the needs of a modernizing society and focused on the individual learning process, but also one exclusively restricted to individuals from the upper and the ascendant middle classes. This arrangement did not contradict the political ideas of the Liberals, since their sense of community conserved differences between the classes.

Popular education and the 'social question'

It was only in the last decade in the nineteenth century that supporters of popular education began to discuss the relationship between the university and the lower classes. After 1870 attention was focused on the 'social question' and this resulted in several initiatives in the legal-political sphere. The acquaintance of Dutch popular educationists with the ideas of Arnold Toynbee was followed by attempts to find pedagogical responses to the question. A lecture by the German professor Brentano on the English Christian Socialists, printed in the *Sociaal Weekblad* in 1890,[19] supported this approach and stressed that education for the lower classes was an insurance against revolution. Such ideas found a warm welcome in the progressive-liberal press and were followed by an enormous expansion of popular educational work, especially through 'folk houses' and people's libraries.[20] The *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen*, a liberal and national private organization engaged in popular education and associated with this pedagogical strategy, was often involved in such initiatives. The progressive-liberal initiators emphasized the sense of community and class-reconciliation that these practices would bring about, and their hope to achieve a better society without going along the road of class struggle. Striking here is the religious inspiration of much of this work.

This English solution for the social question is known as the 'English connection'.[21] Under the influence of this example from overseas, certain members of the Dutch universities developed a concern for the misery of the common people, and initiated a modest debate on the relationship between the university and the lower classes.[22] The Leiden student S. R. Steinmetz, known as the 'Leiden Toynbee', wrote in the *Sociaal Weekblad* that contact between student and working man had to be fostered as a training for universal suffrage. According to Steinmetz, courses for small groups of workers given by students would encourage familiarity between the classes and, moreover, would secure the moral, aesthetic and civil education of the lower classes: 'In this way, small groups could be educated through and through. They [working men] could be the point of departure of subsequent civilization in places difficult to reach.'[23] The Leiden professor van der Vlugt, later involved in the activities surrounding the establishment of the Leiden Folk House in 1899, wrote in *De Gids* that he shared this view and considered it to be the duty of students to engage in sustained fraternization with the lower classes.[24] The official reaction of the university was delivered by the rector of Leiden University, the modern theologian Dr H. Oort, in a report of his speech on the occasion of the transfer of the rectorate published in the students' weekly *Minerva* in 1892. He argued that students were too inexperienced to educate the lower classes: 'The student is at university to be educated and he is not mature enough to be their guide and counsellor, especially since social questions are often involved, and students could cause a lot of harm.'[25] This work should be entrusted to adults. Nevertheless, Oort appreciated the students' interest and this gave him hope for the future.

The debate on the relationship between the university and the lower classes among adult educationists remained paternalistic. Although these liberals, both left- and right-wing, adhered to the notion of a sense of community, they valued their own culture more highly. Moreover, they sought to use popular education as an instrument to maintain social inequalities, and this did not change even when they aimed at a higher general level of civilization and material welfare.

Aristocratic education versus paternalistic popular education

For the first four years after the introduction of the idea of university extension,[26] debate on this subject took place within the popular education movement and focused on the activities of students among lower-class adults. The reception of university extension, however, raised questions about the social considerations which might require an involvement by the university itself with the lower classes. Therefore, it was to be expected that the universities would be drawn into the debate, and even that they and popular education would find themselves in confrontation. That would also imply that the character of the debate changed.

When we look at what appeared in print, we see that the University of Amsterdam was the first university that was prepared to look seriously at plans for university extension, according to a report in the *Sociaal Weekblad* from 1892.[27] Professor Allard Pierson announced in a lecture that the University, deeply concerned about the severe problems of the day and aware of the intellectual starvation of the lower classes, had come to the conclusion that it also had a social mission to fulfil, in addition to the important tasks of teaching and research. This missionary task would be undertaken as soon as a practicable plan had emerged. And in that same year, several courses were arranged in the lecture hall of the university.[28]

Professor Pierson received support in an article by Cornelie Huygens in the *Sociaal Weekblad*. This feminist writer and active member of the SDAP (Social Democratic Workers' Party) considered that the initiative would produce social levelling and promote a sense of community. Moreover, elementary education made higher education necessary. The ability to read was often thought of as a doubtful privilege, and Huygens argued that

> Higher education neutralizes this danger by introducing new elements. It gives pure intellectual interest a place in life and it leads to moderation in political judgement. In short, the contact with profound learning awakens higher and purer ideals of life. This education is as necessary to the well-being of the state as technical education is to the prosperity of trade and industry.[29]

Moreover, in this article Huygens drew particular attention to the emphasis on selection by examination, and to the inherent potential for educational and social promotion. The practice could be seen therefore as an educational innovation strongly meritocratic in character.

The University of Leiden did not react as positively as Amsterdam. As reported in the students' weekly *Minerva* Oort argued that this was a praiseworthy initiative, as there was a need to spread knowledge throughout society. However, the task of educating the lower classes should not fall to the university, which was responsible for training future leaders. The university could respond, however, by making a number of special appointments of 'folk teachers', and placing their work under the supervision of the university senate.[30] It is clear that in Leiden university extension courses were not organized. (Oort, however, was to be involved with university extension a few years later.) In 1893 Oort suggested a solution for the problem of organization. In a speech subsequently published in the *Jaarboekje* (Yearbook) of the *Nut* he proposed that the society should introduce university extension. This arrangement would fit very well with the *Nut*'s tradition of promoting popular education, for 'its intention is to diffuse knowledge [...] among the best, the most gifted of every class, and this will benefit the whole of society'. In his speech, Oort presented all kind of possibilities for the use of university extension. Not only would it benefit liberal education, but vocational education also (for example by filling gaps in the training of administrators in health care or poor-relief), and it could even have political significance by giving lower-class people a political education. Moreover, it would bring about class-reconciliation, since the social classes would meet and respect each other during the courses.[31]

The Leiden professor van Geer reacted to the introduction of university extension in general and to the speech of Oort in particular with a contribution to *Vragen des Tijds* in 1895. His most serious objection to university extension concerned the educational level of the participants. Although he considered that the standard would be higher in The Netherlands than in England, he anticipated that there would be hardly any effect on the less sophisticated members of the audience. The alternative was to make the lectures more popular, but then their high academic level could not be guaranteed. Van Geer maintained that the *gymnasium* was the proper preparation for university studies. This did not meant that he was opposed to the extension of higher education. On the contrary: he urged a change in the law which imposed annual composite tuition fees, so that it would once again be possible for students to attend particular courses without the requirement of entering for examination. In addition, an extended system of bursaries should be introduced to remove the financial barriers against talented, but impoverished students. He argued that

> Such an extension of the task of higher education would suffice. It has a twofold purpose. In the first place, freedom for everyone to attend academic courses, as long and as much as he wants; subsequently, extension of the system of bursaries by appointing a state committee with the inspector of the *gymnasia* as adviser.[32]

Compared to his position of 1887, van Geer had advanced towards a more meritocratic and democratic position, and had become sensitive to the financial problems. He considered this shift necessary in the interests of national progress. The Netherlands could not afford to waste its available talents. Whereas both Pierson and Oort had supported what was in effect paternalism, van Geer dissociated himself from such an approach. His conception of community differed significantly, for he was not interested in class-reconciliation but was committed to a kind of progressive nationalism. Meritocratically organized education, directing attention to individual talents and skills, constituted the foundations of national progress. Hence, he emphasized the accessibility of the university to the individual, though only for the young and not for adults.

In this episode we find a positive response from the University of Amsterdam and a negative response from the Leiden State University. This contrast may be attributable to the different characteristics of the responsible authorities, the municipality and the state. The University of Amsterdam was a very young institution, established in 1876. Its foundation was controversial, not only because there were already enough universities, but also because its financing weighed heavily upon the municipal budget. Its survival depended upon good relations with the citizenry of Amsterdam; and university extension was a way to bind the people to their university. The reaction of Leiden may be characterized as the urge for distinction. The oldest and most élitist university of The Netherlands, Leiden considered itself too eminent to engage in enlightening the lower orders. Others should take care of that. Nevertheless, Oort did in fact dissociate himself from this attitude and organized courses; it may have been his latitudinarian background which left him prone to feelings of guilt.

An attempt to demolish the ivory tower

In 1898, before the case of university extension attracted the attention of the Dutch parliament, the *Nut* had already decided that it should organize such courses. Although during 1898 the *Sociaal Weekblad* gave a warm welcome,[33] the more radical press could not share this enthusiasm. The editor of the radical *Kroniek* and a later Social Democrat, P. L. Tak, published a disappointed and indignant reaction to this initiative of the *Nut*. Although he admitted that there was a difference between state and municipal universities, he argued that it was self-evident that university extension should be a function of the university. He argued that

> The best part of the middle class, organized in the *Nut*, begins, on the one hand, to think more socially under the influence of an ever more consciously working-class movement, and on the other hand, to feel that it is necessary that they should themselves be educated to resist this danger. [...] There are others than the middle class of the *Nut* who crave for knowledge and education. [...] It may be that the only intention of the State is to have schools to educate judges, civil servants, teachers, doctors,—the intention of the Municipality must be to have a university to educate its inhabitants; higher education gratis for each citizen who asks for it and cannot afford it.[34]

By then, Parliament had discussed a report on university extension produced by its own nominated representative, Dr Muller. In his laudatory report published in the *Staatscourant* (Official Gazette),[35] he proposed that the universities should organize university extension rather than any private association, as the latter could never achieve the aims of such work. In addition university extension ought properly to be organized by the universities, because it would contribute to a better connection between primary and higher education. This report saw the initiative exclusively a matter of public education. The debate in the Dutch Parliament concentrated on this question and consequently on the question whether the courses must come within the province of the universities. The Minister of Internal Affairs decided, however, that university extension should be organized by a society, specially created for the purpose, which could receive public subsidy.[36]

Early in 1899 a new weekly, *Maatschappelijk Werk* (Social Work), appeared with Bruinwold Riedel, the secretary of the *Nut*, as editor. As a sequel to the Minister's decision it published the reactions of seventeen professors to an enquiry on university extension.[37] Thirteen of them were well disposed towards the initiative, but they were quite unanimous in their opinion that the universities should not be involved in the organization of the venture. Some of them believed that the professors were too busy to spend time on these affairs, or that the university should wait for others to take initiative. Others, like Professor Speijer, said, 'The universities have another task than diffusing knowledge among people who are not prepared to engage in academic work.' The remaining four were entirely negative towards university extension, particularly because they were anxious about the low educational level of the proposed audience. Professor Domela Nieuwenhuis wrote, 'Higher education requires a preparation that one rarely finds among the great masses; half-knowledge is to be feared.'

Bruinwold Riedel considered the results of the enquiry somewhat disappointing as regards the level of understanding of university extension.[38] There was much confusion about its meaning: it was variously thought of as lectures, a scheme for diffusing popular science, or university education for people who did not have entry qualifications. To answer the professors' objections concerning the educational level of the audiences, Bruinwold Riedel emphasized the ability of those who would take part. Naturally, he was very satisfied with the rejection of any commitment of the side of the university, since he supported the idea of a private association to initiate the work, in this case the *Nut*.

A final attempt to arouse the interest of the universities and to put the record straight regarding university extension was made by a certain 'B.', probably Dr D. Bos, who was a specialist on matters of education and a member of the Board of the *Nut*, and who later became the chairman of the *Vrijzinnig Democratische Bond* (Liberal Democratic Union). This writer could not have been Bruinwold Riedel, for he subscribed his articles with his full initials. Writing in the *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Economic Newspaper)[39] 'B.' offered an accurate outline of English developments and a comparison with the situation in The Netherlands, then postulated that The Netherlands needed a powerful movement of higher education to sustain progress in science. For that reason the universities had to arouse people to the acquisition of knowledge and an initiative such as university extension must part of their task. 'B.' distinguished between two different forms of university extension. The first, advocated by the *Nut*, sought to educate the masses through the popularization of science; the second wished to stimulate and prepare people to undertake independent study. The first form, 'B.' argued, could not be regarded as genuine. University extension was meant for the minority of people genuinely interested in acquiring knowledge and prepared to undertake study of their own initiative; it was these people who could bring influence to bear on the masses. This second variety had to be organized by the universities. He concluded:

> Only in this way may the financial barriers be removed for those with intellectual capacity and good will. [...] This is a small part of the gargantuan labour of twentieth-century popular education: a part about which the masses will not be enthusiastic, and yet a part of importance to all who love the principle of democracy and will place their confidence in it when mind and heart are able to find the highest education everywhere in society.

In this article a new ideology, already detectable in van Geer's contribution of 1894, appeared on the scene of popular education. It was the ideology of the radicals and one which conflicted in some respects with the left-wing liberal ideology. In 1894 the founder of the *Radicale Bond* (Radical Union), M. W. F. Treub, wrote for the *Sociaal Weekblad* a series of articles on 'Socialism and Darwinism', in which he explicated his radical perspective on the social question.[40] Radicalism, he asserted, was not based on Darwinism in detail, but derived several ideas from it. They involved the view that counter-natural conditions should be abolished and that society should be directed towards progress and civilization. Therefore, the Radicals argued for the encouragement of a sense of community, directed against the vast disparities in the distribution of wealth and aimed at abolishing all causes of social inequality not attributable to differences in natural capacity. Opening the doors of the university for the most talented, from whatever class, accorded very well with these radical ideas, which had obvious meritocratic features.

Despite Treub's efforts, the Liberals seemed to be deaf to this radical language. They held on to their idea of segregated classes. As far as the university establishment was concerned, it did not even condescend to react in a debate conducted in such terms. The ivory tower remained intact. The *Nut* organized the courses for two years and then abandoned the experiment as a result of internal entanglements.

Popular education: meritocratic

After 1900 the debate on the relationship between the university and the lower classes almost ceased and under the influence of the 'pillarization' of Dutch society, attention was focused on the question of denominational higher education. Nevertheless, Dirk Bos continued to express his meritocratic ideas on higher education. In an article of 1907, anticipating the way education was developing,[41] he wrote of the increasing need for higher education which must follow improvements in primary and secondary schooling. Participation levels in privately-organized advanced courses on commerce and agriculture pointed in this direction. Although in some democratic circles there were proposals to restrain spending on higher education, since the lower classes gained only indirectly from it, Bos argued that it would be preferable to support talented, but impoverished candidates. This would benefit the nation as a whole.

The last article on university extension, published in 1914 and also written by Bos, dealt with the success of the system in England and Austria as a result of university support, and the disappointing developments in The Netherlands.[42] In 1912 the Dutch universities refused to co-operate with the *Nut* after an approach from that body, since they preferred to keep their distance.[43] Bos was pleased that the successor of university extension, the *Volksuniversiteit*, had already, in 1913, announced itself in Amsterdam: it was founded by the former 'Leiden Toynbee', Steinmetz, now a professor at

Amsterdam and a social-darwinist; and an offshoot appeared in Groningen in 1914. Bos was impressed by the fact that the new people's university organized popular education on two levels, one for those who had only enjoyed primary education, the other for those who had attended secondary school. In this way the *Volksuniversiteiten* were able to take care of popular education up to the highest level. 'Another step will have been taken on the road to this huge ambition: that every one will be able to educate himself according to his capacity and to develop the best in him.' In this last contribution, the meritocratic ideology was extended to popular education. In the name of the national community, attention was to be given to individual skills and attainments. Moreover, twenty years after the introduction of a hierarchical system in popular education, the principle of selection was explicitly brought to bear.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to capture the different meanings that contributed to the Babel surrounding the reception of university extension in The Netherlands, along with an analysis of the debate on the relationship between the university and the lower classes. Moreover I have attempted to bring into the open the relations of power that can be inferred to have influenced the debate.

The hypothesis that there would have been a confrontation between the university and popular education proved unfounded. With the exception of the University of Amsterdam, public reaction by the leadership of higher education to university extension was entirely lacking, the supreme negative response. Moreover, the reaction of individual members of the university world was mostly to think in terms of segregation. The educational level of the masses was considered too low: university teaching could not be adapted to this level because what was provided would then no longer be university education. There was no thought of introducing selection. University extension was another complication in the matter of popular education; from the point of view of a segregated society and of the higher social classes it was better ignored. Seen in this light the Babel and confusion surrounding university extension might even have proved welcome to its adversaries. Beyond that, most of the Amsterdam academic establishment were agreeable to diffusing popularized science, for that could be seen as legitimate public relations, and means by which the university justified its existence.

Although further research on the internal affairs of the university world is needed here, the analysis presented in this chapter does reveal a debate, in particular a debate at the level of the political ideologies. As suggested, these ideologies provided the basis for people's responses to social and educational change. In the debate, we have established a conflict between the liberal and the radical ideologies, characterized by contrasting emphases on segregation and selection. While the liberal ideology envisaged a segregated society, which would be bound together by class-reconciliation and mutual respect, the radical ideology proclaimed a national society, in which progress would be driven by the fostering of individual talents and skills. Hence, instead of a confrontation of the dominant ideologies of institution, we are dealing with a confrontation of political ideas on a level below the establishment, to which people from both university education and popular education belonged. These ideas were translated into the practice of education and popular education along aristocratic and meritocratic lines, though not on the same moment. Although members of the academic world articulated these meritocratic ideas at an earlier date than did supporters of popular education, the latter were able to give them effect in the first *Volksuniversiteit* fifty years before they could be given practical expression within the universities.

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12

Institutions and Activities of Adult Education in Slovenia to the 1920s

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Introduction

This chapter, which reports part of a pioneering research project on adult education in Slovenia, considers two phases in which adult education in the country found itself in rather similar circumstances. The first period, between 1750 and 1815, and the second period, after the First World War and extending from 1918 to 1929, were both characterized by a significant expansion of interest in adult education.

The general approach here is to examine conditions under which adult education in Slovenia was able to contribute to legitimizing the struggle for national identity. Adult education in countries with such a small population as Slovenia[1] can be studied and understood only as an integral part of national, political, cultural and economic development. This presumption is tested by tracing historical developments in three contrasting areas where Slovenian people were settled.

The first period: Enlightenment and national rebirth

The Slovenes living under the Habsburg Monarchy[2] were scattered across several kingdoms and administrative regions. As a result, adult education was influenced by specific circumstances and developed in accordance with the economic, social, cultural and political conditions in which these people found themselves. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the general circumstances under which education of adults took place in Slovenia was overshadowed by the international situation of the Habsburg regime and the emerging middle class. It is important also to remember that the legislation emanating from the power-centres of the Monarchy was intended to accommodate, not so much the Slovenes, as a whole range of distinct national interests. Every major initiative taken within the structures of this multinational community involved the question of what should be the language for official use in public life, schools and administration. For this reason all efforts to promote education, textbooks and adult education in the Slovene language carried national, social, cultural and political implications.

For the Slovene population living under Habsburg rule, the period of Enlightenment meant the development and strengthening of the self-confidence of the individual and of collective national sentiment. From the very beginning of this movement, adult education was concerned with satisfying the basic needs of individuals, classes, and the Slovene people as a whole. The approach, which was of primary importance throughout the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and right up to the 1920s, was the fostering of national identity. Second came improvement in the material basis of individuals' lives and the nation as a whole. Third came a desire for a comprehensive education to form personalities capable of appreciating the individual's relationship to state, church, fellow citizens, and environment.

In the early period the social structure of the Slovene territories included several thousand people engaged in higher professions, mainly in Catholic church organizations. Two hundred of these, at most, were involved in literary or organizational activities related to the national rebirth movement. Thus responsibility for the education of almost one million Slovenes lay with this small number of people. Those who had acquired higher status through education appreciated the difference in the situation of Slovenes from that of Germans, Italians or Hungarians living under the Monarchy. In order to protect themselves and their nation from being assimilated, they fought very hard to promote Slovene cultural, educational and scientific organizations with the aim of awakening national awareness.

The second period: 1918 to 1929

Shortly after the First World War, Slovenia joined the Kingdom of Serbs and Croats to form the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia. For more than a century the social structure of Slovene society had undergone significant change. Now only a part of the population lived off the land. The towns grew and in addition to being a focus of culture they also evolved into industrial centres. The occupations of the middle class changed also, the numbers of engineers, lawyers, professors, doctors, writers and journalists increasing in comparison with the former prevalence of clergymen, notaries and clerks. A significant part of the Slovene population became industrial workers.

The consequences of uniting with the Serbs and Croats were various for Slovenia. It soon became clear that the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was not only the administrative unit but also the melting-pot of national, political, cultural and educational differences. This realization turned the pleasant dreams of many Slovenes about acquiring an ideal homeland for their small nation into a nightmare.

In the new, multinational state, adult education in Slovenia (which was later known as Dravska Banovina) continued to play an important role in preserving and fortifying national identity, especially in the north-eastern districts. For the most part, existing forms of organization persisted, with newly institutionalized 'folk high schools' or 'folk universities' slowly making their way into the system.

Curiously enough, 'folk high schools' for adult education in Slovenia appeared simultaneously with the first modern university at Ljubljana. It was also true that any success in Slovene adult education was achieved in the face of the failure of the University over a long period to provide any active support. The newly founded Faculty of Arts itself made considerable efforts to remedy deficiencies in the field of adult education brought about by this absence of official support. It is difficult to liken the newly founded 'folk high schools' of Slovenia to similar institutions elsewhere, even though their missions may have been similar. In Slovenia they served as extensions of secondary rather than of university education.

The focus of this chapter is first on Carinthia, which remained without folk high schools as specialized institutions for adult education; then on Ptuj, where a folk university was founded but quite late on; and finally on Maribor, one of the most important centres for adult education, with two people's universities.

Koroška: the Mežiška Valley, Maribor and Ptuj

The geographical and ethnic peculiarities of Carinthia and particularly the Mežiška valley, and on top of that the discriminatory educational policy adopted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities, were the main reasons why this region remained without vocational schools for a long period. It was only after 1870, at the 'First Rally of Carinthia', that there was public mention of a united Slovenia, equality of treatment for the Slovene language, and the reduction of taxes on farmers. After this date the elementary forms of adult education which were of particular importance were various 'readers' societies' (*Črna* 1891), newspapers in Slovene, and the publishing activities of the Society of St Mohor. The period of distinct and sustained adult education began after 1885 with the foundation of various extension schools. The most convenient way of organizing educational activities was through co-operatives and similar associations. In addition to their cultural and educational emphases, all of these projects were also concerned with national self-defence as well as with social and economic issues.

Adult education in Carinthia did not change greatly after 1918 and the inauguration of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The organizational structure remained the same as before the World War. The most widespread forms were libraries and reading rooms, which increased in number with the establishment of new institutes associated with various schools, such as the 'Falcon' society and the 'Kolo of Yugoslav Sisters' society. A significant contribution to the spreading network of libraries and the more numerous reading public can be attributed to the publishing house of the St Mohor society, which was based in this region from 1918 to 1927.

Especially active in the field of education between 1919 and 1924 were the Catholic workmen's associations, and the *Svoboda* ('Freedom') society. Multiform educational activities further expanded with the foundation of sections of *Slovenske kmetijske družbe* (Slovene farmers' associations), such as the Beekeepers' Society, which organized specialized training and lectures. Another boost for adult education was provided towards the end of the 1920s by the revival of *Jugoslovanska strokovna zveza* (Yugoslav Employee's Association), and in particular by the extremely lively work of the League of Yugoslav Miners which sponsored numerous lectures on legislation and social security. Neither should one overlook the educational activities of such bodies as the association of fire brigades, the Red Cross and the association of women workers.

The country's new multinational constitution did not stimulate many innovations in the area of adult education. Earlier organizational patterns persisted, while in terms of the content of education the focus shifted from national to social issues. Even though it had no popular university, the Carinthia region did not lack for serious lectures. The most important organizers of adult education were schoolteachers (P. Košir, K. Doberšek, V. Mödendorfer, F. Žgeč). As a part of their endeavours, they published many influential essays on educational subjects aimed at a general readership. Lecturers came from all over Slovenia.[3]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ptuj and surrounding regions, with approximately 85,000 inhabitants, were subject to powerful pressures which had the aim of suppressing national identity. Despite this, adult education was successfully used as the medium for the promotion of the Slovene language and strengthening of Slovene cultural traditions. Ptuj is a town in the lower part of Styria, the centre of the wine-growing regions Haloze and Slovenske Gorice. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, this place, with a population of 2,500, presented a typical example of the position of the Slovene people within Austria-Hungary. The town was an administrative centre; yet, since its own productive activity was confined to a few handicraft workshops, it was much influenced by the farming hinterlands. The door to industrialization was opened only with the construction of the railway. But this in turn introduced foreign capital into the area, and with it the influence of neighbouring Czech and Austrian provinces, which had a huge competitive advantage in comparison with the weakly developed local production.

On the other hand, social life in Ptuj was quite varied. The number of associations with a non-official involvement in education increased dramatically after the introduction of the 1867 law regulating these matters: from only eight such bodies in 1875, to twenty-six in 1895, and fifty-two in 1911. This growth was also fuelled by the division of formerly inclusive societies (reading circles, choirs, fire brigades, and so on) into ethnically differentiated Slovene and German groups. This split not only doubled the number of associations with an involvement in education, but also broadened the range of their undertakings and intensified their activities. The significance attached to their comprehensive programmes (covering national, cultural and educational issues) is well illustrated by the foundation of the *Schulverein* (School Society), whose special task was to reinforce German sentiment by supporting German schools and various forms of informal adult education in German; another similar society was *Südmark*, which provided financial support for educational projects.

Education for farmers, the most numerous section of the Slovene population, started in 1884 through various economic associations, and included exhibitions, fairs and excursions. Education of craftsmen was organized similarly from 1899 onwards, but on a smaller scale. From 1885, Catholic societies such as *Pozor* ('Attention') and *Cilirlmetodovsko društvo* (Society of SS Cyril and Methodus) concentrated on the strengthening of national identity. The athletic association *Orel* ('Eagle') began to participate actively in 1911. It should be mentioned here that the work of these associations did not always run smoothly. Even though they are credited with many achievements, they also went through several periods of inactivity and reduced membership.

In Ptuj itself, German-speaking citizens were in the majority (in 1880 only twenty-five per cent of the town's population was Slovene speaking). On the other hand, the surrounding regions were obviously Slovene in character. The authorities made considerable efforts to extend German influence to the countryside. Among other things they carried out various kinds of non-formal educational projects organized in co-operation with German peripatetic teachers, introduced regular schooling and published newspapers. The focal point of these activities was not education, however; they were rather used as the medium for disseminating political ideas. Nevertheless, the majority of the wealthier farmers living in Ptuj region and along the Drava river were more receptive to educational, cultural, political and economic activities organized by the less numerous Slovene teachers, students and priests.

After 1918, life in Ptuj changed considerably. The pre-war events and the war itself reduced the population, and the balance between the Germans and the Slovenes changed in favour of the latter. As a result, only seven German societies carried on their work. At the beginning of the 1930s, the situation reversed again and German-controlled activities recovered once more.

Adult education became regulated by law only in 1929. Until then it had been unaided and self-sufficient. Now the town authorities organized courses in domestic work, agriculture, French and Serbo-Croat, and instruction for the appointed agents of farmers' associations and so on. These activities partly filled the gap left by the absence of a folk university.

Political parties were also active on the educational scene. In addition to party propaganda they organized lectures of more general interest and sponsored theatrical events. The popular library, the centre of adult education in the pre-war period, resumed its activities in 1919, the year, as it happened, of its fiftieth anniversary. The idyllic days of the enthusiastic reading-circles did not entirely return, mostly because some of the work was being taken over by different kinds of societies. Apart from the general people's reading club, there were four Slovene and two German reading clubs. Among the many societies whose constitutions required education to be made available to the membership, the most active was the 'Falcon' athletic association. It resumed its educational activities in 1919, introduced compulsory lectures for its members and organized various events for the general public.

The association of Slovene high school students organized, in connection with significant anniversaries, lectures and shows; these were staged jointly with the Ptuj branch of the Society of Yugoslav Academy Members, which was founded in 1922 with the support of the *Celje* society. Such activities covered three areas: culture, social life, and welfare. Adult education fell within the cultural sphere and included lectures, discussions and meetings. The need for a people's university in Ptuj was first recognized in these circles. Unfortunately, it was not until 1936/37 that the idea could be translated into practice. An initiative by the Maribor Folk University, which in 1926 offered to supply lecturers, did not serve to speed the process up in Ptuj.

Shortly after the First World War, *Učiteljsko društvo za Ptujski okraj* (Ptuj District Teachers' Association) resumed its activities. This association recognized the importance of having a well-educated body of teachers, and accepted that the education of the general Slovene public was one of its primary duties. It organized five meetings and lectures for its members each year. Towards the end of the 1920s membership numbered 134. It included lecturers from the locality among its members, and lecturers from Maribor and Vienna came as occasional guests. Unfortunately, shortage of funds seriously inhibited any extensive educational planning by this association.

Though reduced to half their pre-war numbers, German educational societies continued their activities after 1918. The central role was still played by the *Deutches Vereinhaus* (German Association Institute) which, in accordance with a constitution enacted in 1922, made itself the focus of German social, artistic, scientific and educational life. Especially active were associations of firemen and choral singers, and the alliance of German high schools which admitted to membership only Germans of Aryan descent. In addition, events organized by the sports club also extended into the field of adult education. The activities of the various clubs were taken over in the 1930s by the newly founded *Kulturbund* (Culture Alliance).

The education of farmers was mostly effected through associations of an economic nature. The most important among them was the 'Wine-Growing Association' which organized a regional exhibition of wines in 1928. Another body concerned with education was the 'Association of Vine-dressers'. Nor should one forget the beekeepers' associations, even though their educational programme did not come properly to life until the 1930s. In 1919 the Ptuj branch of *Slovenska kmetijska družba* (Slovene Agricultural Association) and its forty-five members joined *Kranjska kmetijska družba* (Agricultural Association of Carniola) and began to make good its promises of providing more extensive education for farmers. This was implemented through numerous lectures and courses, sometimes illustrated by films, held at *Narodni dom* (People's Hall), and excursions to vineyards and orchards.

Associations of craftsmen and tradesmen also took part in education. After the war, *Zveza slovenskih obrtnih zadrug* (Association of Slovene Craftsmen Co-operatives) brought together fourteen bodies with a total membership of about eight hundred. It is true that their primary concern was with ethnic-national issues, but the educational component was not completely neglected. They set up five advanced schools for craftsmen in Ptuj, Ormož and Središče ob Dravi. *Zadruga trgovcev* (Tradesmen's Co-operative) also continued its activities after the war; the programme included a considerable amount of educational provision, largely in the form of courses.

The education of workers was mainly arranged by their respective associations and unions. The most numerous and best organized were the railway workers united in the *Splošna železničarska organizacija: krajevna skupina Ptuj* (General Association of Railway Workers: Ptuj branch). Apart from education provided free of charge for its members, the association also organized lectures and set up libraries. By the 1930s the number of associations of railway workers had increased. Educationally speaking, the most active were *Svoboda* ('Freedom', with a membership of 126 in 1922) and *Vzajemnost* ('Mutuality'). *Svoboda* staged a series of instructional lectures and courses (for example, on accounting). In general the subjects addressed were very varied, ranging from economics and health-care to current political topics such as emergent Nazism. Marxist theories were introduced when Messrs I. Potrč and F. Žgeč joined the staff. In the 1930s *Svoboda* eventually became an uninhibitedly political school.

Among confessional societies involved in education, the most prominent was the Catholic athletic association *Orel* ('Eagle'). It resumed activity in 1919 and soon its membership reached a hundred; lectures were arranged and also introductory courses in work-study for managers. *Cirilmetodovsko društvo* (Association of SS Cyril and Methodus) revived after the war, though on a smaller scale than previously, owing to the feeling which now prevailed that national security was no longer an issue. This change of attitude also hastened the break-up of former coalitions into predominantly liberal and clerical groupings. Workers' educational associations usually supported, even if with reservations, Social Democratic or Social Christian ideologies. The consequent fragmentation sapped the strength of already weak forces.

The countryside around Ptuj did not stay idle. The records mention various educational activities carried out in at least eleven villages (Vubreg, Hajdina, Dornava, Sv Marko, Sv Marjeta, Sv Andraž, Sv Lovrenc v Slovenskih goricah, Sv Barbara v Halozah, Sv Vid, Cirkovci and Sv Lovrenc na Dravi). Short courses were the most popular, with advanced schools for farmers being only rarely mounted. Education in economics was quite lively, and there was a considerable contribution by readers' clubs, libraries and various Catholic associations.[4]

Ptuj offers a good example of success in adult education achieved in the absence of specialized institutions such as the popular universities. This was realizable thanks to a widespread movement of interest in securing educational opportunity for the broadest public. Movements of this kind usually appear at historical crossroads, and at such decisive periods adult education can become the agent of progress, both in terms of national awareness and social life.

Maribor after 1918

In Maribor, the period between the two wars meant primarily an epoch of industrialization made possible above all by a cheap source of energy (the new hydro-electric plant at Fale) and low-cost labour coming in from surrounding regions. However, foreign capital, particularly German, was still predominant, with the consequence that pressures aimed at weakening national sentiment among the Slovenes continued to be felt. Despite this, in the 1920s Maribor, a town of 30,000 people, evolved into an important industrial centre with textile manufacture predominating.

Adult education still adhered to traditional organizational patterns, and found its expression through institutions such as societies, clubs, political parties and schools. Eventually, Maribor got the first dedicated institute of adult education—the People's or Folk University.

Slovenska krščansko socialna zveza or *SKSZ* (Association of Slovene Christian Socialists) remained active in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Dr Josip Hohnjec,[5] the newly elected president, indicated the general line of development for the new era: the cultivation of will and of character. Above all, the Slovenes had to become familiar with customs and conditions in Serbia and Croatia. A contemporary article entitled 'Ljudska predavanja' ('People's lectures') throws light on the organizational, didactic, and contextual ideas behind the intended programme as well as on its target groups. Lecturers were to be experts in their various fields; their task was not solely to deliver an address, but also to explain at length every possible aspect of the topics under discussion. In 1923 *SKSZ* was renamed *Prosvetna zveza Maribor* (Educational Association of Maribor). Even though the association was designated a 'cultural and non-political organization', it operated under the auspices of *Slovenska Ljudska stranka* (Slovene People's Alliance). The educational programme was accordingly marked by Catholic influence. In 1923 the association brought together under one umbrella 148 educational societies. In 1924, it organized *Mladinski dnevi* (Youth Days), in 1925 *Delavski dnevi* (Workers' Days), in 1926 *Kmetski dnevi* (Farmers' Days). Apart from these large-scale events, the alliance promoted Slovene literature and vocational reading-matter among the wider audience.

In 1919 a branch office of the Ljubljana-based *Svoboda* society was founded in Maribor. Because of the lack of initiative over educational and cultural activities shown by the workers in Maribor at the time, the task was undertaken by Professor Ivan Favai, Fran Škof and Viktor Grčar. Branch offices dealing with a total membership of some two hundred were located at Studenci and Pobrežje. Courses were given in mathematics and physics, as well as drawing, stenography, typing and spelling. The list also included lectures in history and social sciences.[6] *Delavska zbornica Slovenije* (Workers' Council) established an educational department in 1926. The courses, under the supervision of the grammar-school teacher, Ivan Favai, were held in the reading-room of the Council's education department. During 1928 the newspaper *Delavska politika* ('Worker's Politics') carried advertisements for the courses being provided free of charge for workers and employees: their content was extremely diverse, ranging from language instruction to classes in history, physics and other subjects.

The activities of various associations of craftsmen and workers included vocational training aimed at bringing together the workers in a particular field to meet the needs of Maribor's crafts and industries. In 1926 the association of shoemaker's assistants invited the Graz-based teacher Rudolf Stegmüller to conduct a course in their craft. The Chamber of Trade, Crafts and Industry organized a three-day course in carpentry in 1929. Training in woodwork was conducted by a Mr Tratnik. The source from which these details are taken also recorded the introduction of a technological novelty, a course in oxy-acetylene welding under the supervision of engineer Leon Knez, at the *Tovarna dušika Ruše* (Ruse nitrogen works). We also learn something of his teaching methods, in which he combined theoretical instruction with the screening of training films from Austria. The practical part of the training was provided by Mr Gjurkovič, a professional welder.

The most important branch of local industry, textiles, did not lag behind. A lack of skilled hands at a time when technology was advancing rapidly provided a motive for educating textile workers. The prerequisite for enrolment in training courses was two years of working experience in one of Maribor's textile factories.[7]

The establishment of specialized institutions for adult education, the so-called 'Folk Universities'[8] was certainly the outstanding achievement, and one which represented a milestone on the road of adult education in Slovenia. It was accompanied by numerous debates about the title, the curriculum and the organization which should be adopted in these special-purpose institutions.[9] Almost every public figure of the day joined in the debate. The establishment of people's universities, which were based on German and Austrian models, provoked lively discussion, not only in specialist publications but also in the daily newspapers, and *Tabor*, for example, carried an article in its issue of 22 November 1921.[10] In administrative terms, popular universities operated as assisted associations. Their members paid only membership fees, and there were no admission charges for lectures and courses. Organizers and lecturers received no fees, merely reimbursement of out-of-pocket expenses. The balance of the funding came from municipal budgets, as was the case with libraries and other educational associations. The work of Maribor's folk university for adult education took off in 1923, when engineer Janko Kukovec was appointed director. An extensive account of the operation, organization and programme can be found in an article entitled 'Is the Folk University in Maribor capable of living and developing?'[11] Vocational courses were part of the continuing education on offer; since they were free of charge, the majority of students were workers and minor officials. Lectures were public events intended for the broadest audience, and their primary task was seen as producing social harmony and a good moral tone among the people as a whole. Details are available of the total involvement in the various twice-weekly educational offerings: between ten and fifteen thousand people attended some seventy to eighty events over a span of two years—and the organizers were said not to have been entirely satisfied with these results. The newspaper *Jutro* ('Morning') reported on the fifteenth anniversary of the Folk University that more than 1,000 cultural and educational events had been organized in the fifteen years since its foundation, with a total audience amounting to 100,000 people. Articles on 'Folk University' and 'The courses in natural science at the Folk University', as well as the article previously mentioned, show that the programme sometimes included linked series of six to twelve lectures (for example, extended courses in Slovene, Croat, French, and Natural Sciences).

In order to encourage interest and increase the audience, a second folk university was established in 1928. This was situated in an area of workers' housing, the Studenci district, the third biggest working-class area after Trbovlje and Jesenice. Out of a local population of 5,000, some 3,000 were employed by the State Railways. In 1931 a newspaper article entitled 'Fine results of the Folk University in Studenci' commented on the satisfactory results which were being achieved there.[12] The author of the article thought it important to mention that 'once a week the worker has an opportunity to consider and discuss issues that are not directly related to his everyday life'.[13] The same article illuminates the scope of the activities: seventeen lectures on philosophy, education, health-care, economics, and travel literature. The most prominent lecturers were also mentioned, and among them were Messrs Dimnik, Gričar, Hren, Lovrenčič, Robnik, Šilih, and Drs Jehart, Martin, Pivko, Travner, Varl and Žgeč. The most significant personality connected with the Maribor Folk University was certainly its long-time director, engineer Janko Kukovec.

What distinguished Maribor from other localities and placed it among the three most important centres for adult education in Slovenia, was its extensive activity extending beyond the boundaries of the municipality and even of the district. Undoubtedly the efficiency of this centre varied from time to time, yet its beneficial influence continued throughout all phases of the development of adult education in Slovenia. It should be stressed here that Maribor was also the locus of a comprehensive pattern of activities in other educational fields, and that was one of the main reasons why it was able to take a leading role in adult education. Some of its institutions for adult provision became important for Slovenia as a whole. Furthermore, various printing houses and head-offices of firms producing vocational literature were located in Maribor throughout the period. Also, the municipality provided support, whether financial or in the form of staffing assistance.

In an article 'On educational activities in our town' published in *Tabor* in 1926, Janko Kukovec, the long-serving director of the Maribor Folk University, admitted that it could not compare with the *Pučko Sveučilište* (People's University) at Zagreb, or with the *Narodni Univerzitet* (National University) at Belgrade. But he did emphasize its special characteristics and highlighted the musical events, recitals, commemoration evenings and similar events, describing them as Maribor specialities.[13]

Conclusion

This chapter asserts that adult education in Slovenia, operating under particular local conditions, represented a significant factor in the strengthening of national identity, the position of the individual, and economic development. This argument is based on sample studies of three areas all inhabited by Slovenes, but distinct in terms of geography and social structure: one a predominantly farming region without a distinct cultural centre; another an exclusively agricultural region with a regional capital serving mostly administrative functions; and the third a manufacturing region with, by domestic standards, a well-developed class of industrial workers.

It was characteristic of all three sample areas that at different periods each became the site of a more or less intensive struggle for cultural and national identity. It was characteristic also that adult education played an important role in this process.

References

1 On the question of censuses and population statistics see Fran Zwitter, *Nacionalni problemi v habsburški monarhiji* [National Problems in the Habsburg Monarchy] (Ljubljana, Slovenska matica, 1962), 20–25, 211–226.

2 There are varying opinions regarding the use of the term 'Habsburg Monarchy'. The English historian, A. J. P. Taylor, in the introduction to his well-known study, *The Habsburg Monarchy, 1809–1918: A history of the Austrian Empire and Austria-Hungary*, new edn (London, Hamish Hamilton, 1948), points out that he was not able to discover a suitably short and accurate designation for the empire. For that reason the author of this chapter, whilst aware of the real risk of inaccuracy, has adopted the convenient term 'the Habsburg Monarchy'.

3 For further details see Jurij Jug, 'Andragoški rad Karla Doberška i razvoj obrazovanja u Mežiškoj dolini' [The andragogic work of Karlo Doberšek and the development of education in Mežiška valley], *Andragogija* [Zagreb] (1989), 239–240.

4 For further details see Jurij Jug, 'Oris neformalnih andragoških dejavnosti v Ptuju in okolici do 1930' [Outline of non-formal andragogic activities in Ptuj and environs to 1930], *Šolska kronika. Zbornik za zgodovino šolstva* [Ljubljana] 26 (1993).

5 See Jurij Jug, 'Oris androgoških dejavnosti v Maribor', *Vzgoja in izobraževanje* 5 (1991), 33.

6 'Izobraževalni tečaji za delavstvo v Mariboru', *Delavska politika* (1926: 1–3).

7 'Tekstilni tečaji v Mariboru', *Mariborski večernik Jutro* (1938: 204), 5.

8 F. Kranjc, 'O ljudskih univerzah', *Popotnik* [Maribor] (1919), 245.

9 For details see *Sodobna pedagogika* [Ljubljana] 9–10 (1987), 487–497.

10 'Ljudsko vseučilište', *Tabor* (1921: 264), 1.

11 'Ali je ljudska univerza v Mariboru življenja in razvoja zmožna', *Mariborski večernik Jutro* (1928: 34), 2.

12 'Lep uspeh ljudske univerze v Studencih', *Mariborski večernik Jutro* (1931: 87), 3.

13 'Ljudska univerza Studenci', *Jutro* (1930: 97), 5.

14 For details see J. Jug, 'Osvrt na obrazovanje odraslih u Prekmurju do 1941 godine', *Andragogija* [Zagreb] 36 (1990), 391–398.

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Helena Radlinska and the School of Adult Education and Social Work at the Free University of Poland

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Historical background: 'Ex litteris libertas'

The traditions of adult education in Poland were always closely connected with the struggle for national and social independence. Before 1918 the Poles were in a very difficult position as regards the possibility of developing their national culture. For 123 years, from 1795 to 1918, Poland remained under 'Partitions' by the three Powers, Russia, Austria and Prussia. During that time 67 per cent of Polish territory was under Russian domination, about 22 per cent under Austrian, and 11 per cent under German. Although several attempts were made to restore Polish statehood, neither two national Uprisings (November 1830 and January 1863) nor Napoleonic and post-Napoleonic diplomacy succeeded in reuniting all the Poles under one rule.

The usurping powers tried by all means to eradicate national feeling. Their policy was to keep the lower classes illiterate, or to give only such education as would denationalize the people. However, the Poles made the greatest efforts to counteract such conditions. 'Ex litteris libertas' (through education to freedom) became the watchword of all educational activists, so that the educational movement was, to certain extent, connected with the political movement. After the Commission of National Education had been abolished, patriotic citizens established many educational centres in which its work could be continued. Then, when the foreign governments suppressed these activities, many secret societies were founded and the work of instruction was carried on in the face of many difficulties. In the Prussian sector of partitioned Poland the Society of People's Libraries was founded in

1880, in Austrian Poland the Society of Elementary Schools in 1891, and in the Russian sector the Polish School Society *Macierz* in 1905.[1]

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries the universities in Cracow and Lwow organized university extension lectures.[2] The education committees of the trade unions organized popular universities. The Adam Mickiewicz People's University, established in 1897 in Cracow by radical activists, was especially famous and soon became one of the most important centres for popular education and democratic ideas.[3]

During the Russian revolution of 1905–1907 the 'University for All' and 'Polish Culture' organizations were especially active and conducted educational work openly.[4] In the Russian sector of partitioned Poland, a number of secret educational circles for women were started in 1883. The 'Flying University' emerged in 1886 out of these irregular forms of educational activity. From 1906, this body was transformed into the Association for Scientific Courses, the only university-level educational institution able to operating under the regime of political and social control in the Russian sector.[5] Through such educational efforts future generations of citizens for an independent state were being shaped. Informal educational structures were also the base for para-military units aiming to fight for freedom and independence.

Adult education in independent Poland

The reconstitution of the Polish state in the form of the Second Republic in November 1918 provided an even greater incentive for further educational efforts. The thorough remodelling of all political and social structures was a task which turned out to be very difficult to perform. The process of unification was to cover three separate territories, with their particular levels of industrial development, different legal-administrative structure and diversified educational, social and national heritages and backgrounds.

According to the figures of the General Census for 1921, 7,150,000 illiterates were registered, one-third of the adult population of Poland. The majority of them were found in the former Russian sector, where they amounted to 64 per cent of the total population. (The situation in the former Prussian and Austrian sectors appeared to be far better.)[6] Given that situation, the radical educational leaders constantly insisted on the need to introduce compulsory schemes of education for adults, calling for obligatory educational and vocational courses to be organized immediately.[7] Proposing such measures was far easier than putting them into effect; the hindrances were mostly the severe lack of funds, qualified teachers and school books, and also resistance among conservative sections of Polish society.

There was a constant demand for leaders in industrial and social fields, for trained specialists to organize different aspects of community life, adult education and social care. The special conditions following the long period of political oppression by foreign governments brought about a close connection between social services and the general as well as vocational education of adults.[8] A number of initiatives were taken in order to fulfil the tasks of economic and social development. Special training courses for adults were established. In mid 1918 a Department for Adult Education was established in the Ministry of Education. The law of 21 July 1919 established compulsory education for recruits to the army. Then the law of 4 July 1920 introduced in every county district one-year courses for young farmers, where, besides vocational training, lectures on general subjects were given.[9]

Special attention was given to developing a broad professional training for those working as teachers of adults. A person particularly deeply involved in various educational undertakings of this kind was Helena Radlinska, (1879–1954, pseudonym 'Orsza'). She was a great pioneer in the field of adult education in Poland, and wrote extensively on the subject. Her series of studies 'The Beginnings of Educational Work in Poland' (1912) was the first ever to describe the history of adult education in the country during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[10] Much of Radlinska's own experience was gained as head of the Cracow section of the previously mentioned Adam Mickiewicz People's University; for many years she worked in Cracow where she found refuge from the Tsarist regime.[11] Radlinska returned to Warsaw after Poland regained its independence. She then became involved in rebuilding the activities of various educational associations and institutions. It was in Warsaw that she joined up with a group of academics centred around the Free University of Poland, *Wolna Wszechnica Polska* (*WWP*).[12]

The Free University of Poland

The Free University of Poland came into being in 1919 out of the work of the Association for Scientific Courses mentioned previously. During the First World War, the association's authorities had begun work on a new organizational set-up, and that was transformed into the Free University.[13] Among the founders of the *WWP* were Ludwik Krzywicki (the first Rector during the period 1919–20), who was a famous sociologist, translator of Marx's *Das Kapital*, and had earlier been actively involved in setting up the Association for Scientific Courses.[14] Then there were Stanislaw Kalinowski, an outstanding physicist and educator; Ryszard Bledowski, a zoologist; and among the many others involved notable lawyers such as Aleksander Mogilnicki and Emil Rapaport.[15]

At first, the *WWP* continued as a recognized association with headquarters in Warsaw. It had the right, however, to engage in certain activities throughout the country: to provide higher education, to facilitate academic work among people who already had appropriate qualifications, and to spread scientific information among the various social strata. A new feature of the Free University was indicated in the constitution: '*WWP* is an institution based on the freedom of education' and 'to meet its goals [...] it is setting up and organizing regular lectures at university level in every branch of science. They will take place within the appropriate faculties.' Its Statute, approved in 1919 by the Ministry of the Interior, also permitted it to use funds 'granted by the government and social institutes', and acknowledged 'the right to accept legacies'.[16] The governance of the *WWP* lay in a general academic council, by which the Senate and Rector were elected, and Faculty councils (a constitution which required management through an association to cease). The Statute of 1919 claimed that the *WWP* consisted of four faculties: Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Humanities, Political and Social Sciences, and Pedagogics. A nominee of the Ministry had the right to attend as a non-voting member meetings of the *WWP* authorities.[17]

The *WWP* quickly established a reputation as an up-to-date university, practising academic freedom, but also quick to respond to social needs. Although eager to acknowledge a spiritual connection to other European 'free universities', such as existed in Belgium, France and Germany, it fulfilled a much wider role. In the West, free universities were promoted by small groups or organizations, and were politically autonomous. The *WWP*, as the Association for Scientific Courses, originated in the tradition of fighting for independence when the Polish state as such did not exist. This was a binding tradition, and the *WWP* tried to serve society as a whole.[18]

The Free University was renowned for its high educational standards and democratic principles of student life, as well as responsiveness to social needs. It also provided access to academic education for many students from rural and working-class families.[19] Freedom of opinion within the university, its secular basis, and opening the doors to people without school-leaving certificates brought the *WWP* both friends and enemies. The education authorities and conservative academic circles were not always prepared to offer support. (In 1926 a ban was issued on employment of *WWP* graduates in public administration and the judicature). Although there is no doubt that the University achieved recognition in Polish society, it secured its privileges only over a long period of time. (Rights of students and graduates were regulated from 1927, and the *WWP* was added to the list of institutes of higher education in 1933.) It had to fight to maintain its position.[20]

Anxious to preserve academic standards, Rector Krzywicki established a special committee to be responsible for the appointment of professors. In 1922 the WWP also began to issue its own journal, *Bibliotheca Universatis Liberae Polonae*, and published, in Polish and other languages, the outstanding work of both professors and students. In 1928/29 for example, there appeared forty-seven papers in the sciences, thirty-five in the humanities, forty-three in political and social sciences, twenty-four in pedagogics, and ten written by students.[21] The lecturers in the Free University came from the most distinguished academic circles, for example, L. Hirszfeld, L. Wertenstein, J. H. Lachs, M. Grotowski, and as already mentioned L. Krzywicki, S. Czarnowski and J. Chalasinski.[22] These were people who combined a passion for research with committed social and political activity.

The Free University offered very favourable conditions for the social sciences, for sociology, pedagogy, and psychology. Sociology had already found a place in the Association for Scientific Courses. The socialist Ludwik Krzywicki gave lectures there on the factors of social development, from 1908, at a time when sociology was only beginning to be recognized in higher education. After the Association became the *WWP*, Krzywicki was appointed to the chair of sociology in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences. In 1923/24 another chair of sociology (Study of Religions) was established. At that time the University of Warsaw, the State University, had only one chair of sociology, established in 1919 within the Law School.[23]

Pedagogy was introduced at the *WWP* much earlier than at the state universities, and began to develop quickly and successfully. Pedagogics and psychology had been offered through the Association for Scientific Courses from 1907 and a Pedagogical Institute was organized in 1915 in order to 'create a centre for theoretical work in the field'.[24] From 1919 a series of Sunday Lectures open to the public was organized by the *WWP* and gained immediate and growing popularity, especially among teachers who were barred from taking up regular studies because they lacked the necessary academic qualifications.[25] The *WWP* was the first university that sought to embrace pedagogical (educational) studies as a course in its own right. From 1922/23 the programme lasted four years (eight semesters). The University of Warsaw did not introduce pedagogical studies until 1926.[26]

The Free University was ideally placed to promote professional training for the adult educators and social workers urgently needed in the newly recreated country. In 1921 Radlinska began to teach there, at first lecturing on adult education. In September 1924 , together with a group of professors and several social and educational organizations, she founded within the *WWP* the first Polish School of Adult Education and Social Work.[27]

The School of Adult Education and Social Work

The School began work as a separate division of the *WWP* in 1925.[28] Among the co-founders were eminent professors of the university (L. Krzywicki, H. Radlinska, M. Grotowski, J. Lewicki); as well as representatives of the Ministries of Education and Agriculture; voluntary social agencies, such as the Central Bureau for Adult Education, the Central Union of Agricultural Circles, the Educational Department of Polish Consumers Societies and the Polish Librarians Association. Professor Radlinska was appointed head of the new school, named *Studium Pracy Spoleczno-Oswiatowej* (School of Adult Education and Social Work), and she remained in post until 1944.[29]

The school was granted autonomy within the Free University, with its own management, teaching staff and curriculum. Teaching was supervised by a Scientific Council comprising the Dean of the Faculty of Pedagogics, the Head of the School, full-time professors and representatives of the advisory council. After some years, in 1935, the school was absorbed into the Faculty of Pedagogics and retitled the Socio-Educational Department, but traditionally it is always known as the School of Adult Education and Social Work.[30] Its curriculum was devised by Radlinska, who believed that adult education demanded a solid professional background and special personal qualities.[31] The school soon became the centre for comprehensive academic education for adult educators, social workers and social activists. The major aim was to combine a theoretical background with solid practical training. Since it was the only educational unit dealing with Adult Education, more and more professionals, who were unable to develop their skills and interests within regular universities, were attracted to study there and to benefit from the atmosphere and helpful attitude.[32] The school became a centre for social research, where investigations into the main problems of adult literacy as well as social and cultural programmes were conducted. It was the seed-bed where Polish social pedagogy originated and grew.[33]

The school, in common with all faculties of the Free University, had no formal entrance requirements. The students had to be over 20 and there was no upper age-limit. Ideally candidates should have reached senior school-leaving standard, but those without formal academic education could be accepted on the basis of a personal interview and a proven record of relevant practical experience. Some 'free-lance' students were also accepted, and they were required to reach a certain standard of attainment during the course of their studies.[34] Even those who could not comply with the above procedures were allowed to attend lectures; they were not, however, permitted to take any examinations or to be awarded a diploma. Fees were modest (PLZ 160–320 per term per student), and so the school attracted a great number of students unable to afford full-time university education.[35]

Organization and curriculum

Initially courses were of one year's duration. After a while, a year of practical work was added to the schedule. From 1930, as the School adopted the normal scheme of the Free University, two different options were developed. The first led to the award of a certificate after two years of study; the second was a four-year programme leading to a diploma.[36] The first year of study was conducted on a seminar basis, with obligatory attendance at certain lectures. Theoretical work was supplemented by study-tours at home and abroad, closely co-ordinated with the programme of lectures.[37] The second-year syllabus consisted mostly of an individual programme of practical training, usually followed within the institutions sponsoring the students. Contact was maintained with the School in the form of regular meetings, during which individual guidance was also provided, together with a series of lectures on current political and social issues, and the latest research touching on the school curriculum. In the course of their scholarly and practical work, students were required to prepare a dissertation. The final Diploma was awarded on the basis of examinations and the completed dissertation.[38]

During its first phase of activity the school provided regular teaching organized in three divisions: education of adults and employed youth, community organization, and library work. From 1926/27 a new division of child welfare was instituted, and the other divisions were revised, mostly to secure greater depth within each specialism.[39] The curriculum was based on several general scientific disciplines, and aimed to provide a solid theoretical background for all students. The leading principle was to equip students for their future work, by enabling them to recognize the needs of various social groups, and to make the appropriate choice of method.[40]

The programme for 1926/27 consisted of the following general subjects: introduction to economic theory and policy, sociology (particularly sociology of education), contemporary Polish problems, issues of social doctrines and movements, state and administration, law and adult education, social policy, pedagogics and social work, history of cultural work, contemporary issues and forms of social and educational work, general and educational psychology, didactics, study technique and public-speaking. All students were also required to investigate specific topics relating to their specialism.[41]

The three divisions within the School merit a more detailed explanation. 'Specialism A' covered the training of teachers of adults and young people in employment in the context of vocational schools and folk high schools. Particular emphasis was placed on improving knowledge of teaching methods and on detailed training in a range of topics selected by each candidate. 'Specialism B' was designed to produce community cultural and social leaders. The syllabus included basic information on administration at the local level, issues in labour law, co-operative movements, principles and practice of social insurance. Special emphasis was placed on recognizing essential needs in rural and urban communities. 'Specialism C' dealt with library organization and sought to educate qualified librarians able to work within communities. Professionally trained candidates attended lectures in the Faculty of Arts to gain a solid background which would enable them to act in various fields connected with the cultural development of Polish society. 'Specialism D' was closely connected with training social-welfare officers. The syllabus was designed to create fully professional social workers, future cadres for social-service centres ,and to prepare a comprehensive scheme of social services for Poland. Teaching was based on lectures and seminars covering welfare history, principles of social service and social prevention, residential child care, educational and clinical psychology.[42]

The whole teaching programme was very flexible and could be adapted to students' interests and preferences. finding the right choice was made easier by a helpful staff of professors and senior students, who could advise and suggest the most suitable pattern for an individual student's needs and abilities. The staff also assisted in the process of arranging contacts with outside institutions and government or voluntary agencies.[43]

Within the range of specialization three different profiles of education were established: organizational/community orientated; education orientated; and research orientated. In each case the important feature was again flexibility. Students were not trained to be narrow specialists, rather they were supposed to acquire the capacity to diagnose a range of problems and deal with them on their own initiative. The original syllabus was gradually supplemented and new subjects introduced, especially after the two-year and four-year courses had been established.[44]

Training in professional skills was an essential component. The regular four-year course was supplemented by a three-month practice placement related to the student's chosen specialism. Practice was organized in Warsaw and in the country, with the aid of sponsoring organizations, institutions or associations linked with the school; it was also supported by distinguished professionals who lectured and gave consultations, and by graduates of the school employed in the various educational institutions.[45] Practical experiences were brought back and evaluated in seminars, where the warm attitude of staff encouraged students to share even the most controversial of matters. After graduation many former students continued to seek advice and support from the school.[46]

Integral to the programme were study-visits to different institutions, in Poland and abroad. One example was a month's journey to Paris via Czechoslovakia, Austria and Switzerland, to attend the first International Social Work Conference.[47] During these trips, students learned about the latest developments in social and educational work in the countries visited.

Research seminars

In academic seminars students could develop their research interests. These meetings gave rise to a number of team projects, through which various interests were combined into larger social and educational themes. The first research seminar worth mentioning was on adult education and was conducted by Radlinska. In 1927 the Free University appointed her to a chair of Theory and History of Adult Education, the first ever in Poland.[48] Being very active on the field—she was author of several books and several dozens of articles on adult education theory, history and organization—Radlinska was able to encourage her students to undertake research. Work on the history of adult education undertaken by her team examined different aspects of the subject, and some of it was published. One notable outcome was a multi-author book on Stanislaw Staszic, another a critical study 'Grundtvig, a famous educator of the Danish nation', published in 1927 by one of the participants.[49] Also several reports were compiled for presentation at the first International Conference of Adult Education, Cambridge 1929.[50] In general Radlinska's activity helped Adult Education in Poland to achieve during the 1920s standing as an independent academic discipline. It was she who elaborated entries on the concept of Adult Education for the 'Educational Encyclopedia', considered the first attempt ever, not just in Poland but in Europe, to describe adult education developments in the 'major cultural countries'. Years later Radlinska published a textbook on adult education, a summary of her most important ideas and experiences.[51]

Within the social pedagogy seminar, also under Radlinska's direction (she became Professor of Social Pedagogy in 1937),[52] research was undertaken on the relation of school and community, and on children's failure at school with special reference to living conditions in poor neighbourhoods of Warsaw and Lodz. The findings were circulated widely in Poland and abroad.[53]

Another notable seminar was under the guidance of Professor Kornilowicz and was devoted to the study of voluntary educational circles among industrial workers, following the examples of self-improvement movements based on co-operatives in England.[54] As noted below Kornilowicz was one of the founders of the Polish Group of the World Association for Adult Education. Issues in social policy provided the base for a seminar run by Professor Krzeczkowski. Among the many topics investigated was a study of living conditions in the Ochota district of Warsaw, where the School was situated. Professor Babicki's seminar examined the living conditions of abandoned children.[55] The noted sociologist Krzywicki conducted a seminar at the Political and Social Sciences Faculty of the Free University. Another particularly significant one, on agricultural education, was taken by Mikulowski-Pomorski. The programme for 1928/29 included ten different research seminars, and most of them were to continued up to 1939.[56]

The major task for all seminars was to give students the best possible education, but it was not the only one. The results of team and individual studies were published in various scientific journals and as books. In librarianship, for instance, twenty-eight items were published up to 1936, and another eleven were then in preparation. Social pedagogics was covered in the work on school failure; the full report consisted of fourteen joint and five individual studies. A number of seminar works already prepared for publication were destroyed during the Second World War.[57]

A School of eminent personalities: staff and students

The wide range of activity in such a small institution was possible only because of the unusual qualities of the staff. The dominant figure was Helena Radlinska, who bore the affectionate nickname 'Grandma'. It was she who created a full-scale concept of adult education, founded and then led the school, even during the worst days of Nazi oppression. She managed to gather around her specialists who were leading figures in their disciplines and, moreover, devoted social activists. In addition to those already mentioned there were Janusz Korczak, Sergiusz Hessen, Aleksander Zelwerowicz and many others. The statistics show that of ninety-one professorships in the Free University fifty-one were exclusively connected with the school.[58]

The school was notably secular in character. It had an atmosphere of tolerance, understanding and respect between people of sometimes contrasting opinions. Staff-student relations were friendly. As one student wrote: 'the determining factor of such an atmosphere was undoubtedly the team of tutors [...] broad-minded people of pure crystal character [...] warm-hearted strong personalities treating their students with utmost respect, like colleagues and successors [...] they inspired us by giving example and we were taught how to use their experience and acquire their knowledge'.[59]

The high standard of the school was reinforced by the students' attitude to their work. Most were mature, with work-experience, usually sponsored by their institutions and granted special paid leave for the study period. They were committed to social transformation and to building a new society; study was accompanied by engagement in voluntary work. Some of the students were able to live on a full or partial grant, but most took jobs to make ends meet.[60] The school's students were usually much older than those in other faculties of the Free University. The main age range was 25–30 years, but some, usually women, were over 40. By 1936, 484 students had successfully completed their education at the school. For 1939 there were 657 regular and 42 free-lance students enrolled altogether; at 65 per cent of the total, women were in the majority.[61] In terms of social origin, most of the men came from rural districts, and most of the women from the 'intelligentsia', though farmers' daughters also enrolled. At graduation ceremonies some appeared in traditional folk costume.[62] Overall 20 per cent of the registered students were of peasant origin, and 14 per cent were industrial workers.[63]

The school attracted people of divers political views, and adherents of many political parties. As one graduate admits, most were sympathetic to left-wing parties, the Democrats and Social Democrats.[64] As already noted, relations, despite divergences of political views, were marked by liberality and tolerance. 'Students ranged from people harassed because of their political activity, sometimes just released from prison, where they had been sent because of their sympathy for communism, to the Catholic priests and nuns': so Radlinska recalled in her 'Letters' many years later. Often people of different social and religious convictions would aid their opponents, giving real support, for instance in distributing underground literature.[65]

Students were free to associate in their own clubs, and in the Union of Graduates, which in fact provided the basis for the first Polish Association of Social and Educational Workers established in 1937.[66] Most of the students were extensively involved in various resistance and underground movements during the Second World War.

European roots and inspiration of the School's activity

Radlinska created her own institution to meet the needs of a country which was in the process of being rebuilt. She was well acquainted with what was happening in other European countries as far as social and educational work was concerned. Many years later she wrote in her 'Letters': 'I learnt about the different institutions and life of the Western countries during my "Cracow" years, and during my annual trips abroad. They were made all the easier because many of my friends, owing to their boycott of Warsaw University [where all lectures were in Russian] studied or worked as assistants in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Switzerland.'[67] Radlinska's parents, members of the Warsaw intellectual élite, lived in Paris for many years.[68]

Helena Radlinska, who was extremely active, took part in many international conferences and congresses, for example the International Moral Education Congress (Geneva 1922, Paris 1930, Cracow 1934), and the New Education Fellowship (Montreux 1924, Locarno 1927, Helsingør 1929, Nice 1932).[69] She headed the Polish section of the New Education Fellowship, which invited Claparède, Bovet, Ferrière and Piaget to Poland. Beside conference activities Radlinska published several works abroad.[70] She was also deeply concerned with adult education and social work, and was able to become involved in these through participation in the World Association for Adult Education, the International Association of Schools of Social Work, and the International Conference of Social Work. Radlinska, as she wrote, was trying 'to be a link' between adult educationists and social workers.[71] In 1927, with the help of K. Kornilowicz, a Polish Group of the World Association for Adult Education came into being. The activities of this group resulted in regular meetings and conferences concerning adult education in Poland, and also led to several valuable publications.[72] Radlinska, being deputy chairman of the group, took part in the Cambridge World Conference of 1929. A paper prepared by Radlinska was presented in English by Professor Roman Dyboski during the closing plenary session, while Radlinska gave a presentation, in French, during the sessions concerned with Library matters. In 1932, still as deputy chairman of the group she participated in the World Association's conference in Belgium.[73]

Another of her areas of expertise was research on reading. She actively participated in the international conferences of the *Fédération Internationale de Documentation* and also published extensively on this topic.[74]

Radlinska joined the International Conference of Social Work in 1926, taking part in the Paris congress. She then started working closely with Mary Hurlbutt, Alicja Masarykowa, Marie Mulle, Alice Salomon, René Sand and Alfred Niceforo. In 1927, under the leadership of L. Krzywicki the Polish Committee of the International Conference was set up. Radlinska (as a committee secretary) took part in the conferences at Paris (1928), Frankfurt (1932), London (1936), where she presented papers on urgent social questions. She also used the opportunity to advertise the concept underlying the School of Adult Education and Social Work.[75]

All Radlinska's activities gave her the opportunity to learn about the most interesting educational and social initiatives in Europe. (Although she only knew the American situation from reading, she knew it extremely well). As she wrote at the end of her life: 'I made the most of my travels around the world [...] I took in everything that was in accordance with my experience, that was close to my own reflections or what was of special value in Poland.'[76] Among the important 'institutes' and 'examples', she first of all mentions the *Institut J. J. Rousseau* in Geneva. (She admired E. Claparède; she investigated J. Piaget's research methods, and wrote that he deserved his fame; she also spoke highly of P. Bovet.)[77] Others which she described as 'striking the imagination' were the *Université de travail* in Charleroi, the Brussels Central School of Social Work and the Higher Workers' School. A person who meant a great deal to her was Marie Mulle, head of the Central School in Brussels.[78]

Radlinska also knew and admired the Danish folk high schools and was keen to see them established in Poland. She helped organize instruction at the Central Union of Agricultural Circles, when Ignacy Solarz, originator of the idea of the Polish Folk High School, first went to Denmark as a trainee. In her 'Letters' she recalls her talks with political, educational and agricultural activists in Denmark, and also the special atmosphere of the International Folk High School in Helsingør and its director, Peter Manniche.[79]

Radlinska did emphasize the specifically Polish needs underlying the creation of her School. She noted that it paid much more attention to 'animation' and adult education that social-work schools in other countries. 'I find an explanation for this in the needs of life in Poland', she wrote. 'This is connected with taking equally into account both rural and urban needs, understandable in an agricultural country in contrast to industrial countries, where social workers' attention is nearly drawn to life in the city.'[80]

Yet one may presume that everybody and everything that inspired her had an influence on the shape of the school she led. Her extensive international involvements definitely influenced its internal activities. An interesting task would be to compare the school's programme and organization with forms of training in social service and adult education elsewhere in Europe.

Later history of the School and its legacy

The School's regular programme was destroyed by the Second World War, but teaching was not abandoned. Only the form was changed, into underground classes where utmost secrecy had to be maintained. Professor Radlinska, even though she had been injured during the heavy fighting of September 1939, worked even under the most arduous conditions to sustain the teaching. She survived the war hidden in a Warsaw convent, where the Mother Superior was one of her former students. During the war, students and professors were very active, supporting those in need through the Social Committee for Mutual Aid and similar organizations, then fighting in the Warsaw Uprising.[81] There was no break in scientific, educational or publishing work. Radlinska devised a special handbook in concealed form for Polish youths taken as forced labour to the German Reich, and one of her books was adapted for inclusion in the *Guide for Workers in Polish Soldiers' Social Centres*.[82] A very special unit of the school was able during 1943–45 to build up educational activity in the prison-camp for Polish officers at Woldenberg.[83] This particular part of the school's history deserves to be more thoroughly investigated and described.

After the war, in an entirely new geopolitical situation, it proved impossible to revive the school. All that was achieved was the Faculty of Social Pedagogics at Lodz University, where in 1945 Radlinska was appointed Professor of Social Pedagogy, and where she organized master's programmes in Social Pedagogy, and Adult Education. Soon, with the tightening of Stalinist control, recruitment was first suspended and then terminated. Radlinska was removed from her post in 1950 and was not allowed to teach again. She died in Lodz in 1954.[84] In 1957 the Convention of Social Pedagogues and Social Workers was held in Warsaw.[85] In spite of the many attempts to re-establish a Free University of Poland, the only visible result of social pressure was the creation of faculties of Social Pedagogics at Warsaw and Lodz Universities. Even then they were able to maintain earlier experiences and activities only to a very limited extent.

Conclusions

The Free University was accepted, unofficially to begin with, but later officially, as a university-level institution; it was therefore the case that Poland was in advance of normal European practice in admitting a School of Adult Education and Social Work as a recognized element within higher education. For this reason Colin Titmus has suggested that 'The ideas behind Radlinska's School were ahead of standard thinking in Europe in the inter-war years.'[86] There is no doubt that a comparative view of education in the fields of adult education and social work suggests just how modern Radlinska's approach was. Her ideas on the intimate association between these two fields and on the extended professional training required for them, the special features of the School's programme, such as subject-content, combination of theory and practice, flexibility and respect for the students' own interests, all these testify to the originality of her contribution.

The importance of the School of Adult Education and Social Work is indisputable for other reasons too. The School, like the Free University of Poland in general, was educationally progressive and played a significant role in adult education and in producing highly qualified specialists. It was an important centre for scientific research and experimentation leading towards new social and educational ideas. The school became involved in the process of transforming the Polish state and Polish society along democratic lines. It played an important part in shaping new generations of Polish intelligentsia. The former students of the School played a significant role in preserving democratic values through the upheavals of Polish political history in modern times.

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68 Helena Radlinska was a daughter of Aleksander Rajchman (one of the founders and the first director of the National Philharmonic, also a renowned publisher and editor) and Melania, née Hirszfeld, who assisted her husband in his publishing work and participated in the international feminist movement. Helena's brother Ludwik was an assistant at the *Institut Pasteur* in Paris and a lecturer at the University of London. Her brother Aleksander was an eminent mathematician, professor at the Free University of Poland. See Radlinska (1964); Lepalczyk and Skibinska (1974).

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14

Edgar Zilsel, Science and Popular Education in Vienna in the Early Twentieth Century

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The Scientific World Conception and (Austro)Marxism

> 'Man is a social being. He seems to interpret nature not only according to the needs but also after the patterns of society.'
> Edgar Zilsel[1]

Towards the end of the nineteenth century there were several simultaneous currents in scientific thinking. On the one hand, in the natural sciences, particularly physics (which was something like the pre-eminent discipline) all ideas redolent of supernatural principles were criticized and eliminated. On the other hand, however, the scientific conception of the world ran into a crisis. Within the mechanistic world-conception of modern science, nature had been conceived of as an enormous machine whose parts were linked to one another and in which phenomena like movement, thrust, pressure and tension could be observed and calculated. In the course of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries this mechanistic view of nature had increasingly been shaken by a series of discoveries and new theoretical considerations (for example in the fields of electromagnetism, optics, thermodynamics, atomic theory). This situation was exploited to question the very possibility of empirically-based, rational knowledge and corresponding approaches to shaping the world, and to legitimize and strengthen once more the various kinds of irrationalism and religiosity that had suffered heavily from the triumph of modern, secular science.

The eminent physicist and theoretician of science, Ernst Mach, (1838–1916), who taught at the Universities of Prague and Vienna, opposed all attempts to reinterpret science metaphysically. For example, in his work

Erkenntnis und Irrtum ('Knowledge and Error'), first published in 1905, he dealt with fundamental theoretical issues of the natural sciences. He considered it of paramount importance 'to make a sharp distinction between concepts and laws, on the one hand, and facts, on the other'.[2] Forming concepts, constructing statements on the regularities and laws of processes in nature and society represent attempts on the part of man to come to terms with reality, to make it shapable. Now this by no means implies that the so-called laws of nature are 'merely subjective regulations to which reality is not bound',[3] but rather that scientific knowledge of nature is a process of active grappling with nature. Laws are not simply found or discovered in nature, nor are they rules for nature; their formulation is the result of a combination of sensory perception, experience, theoretical effort, and work already performed by society (which again has found expression in concepts).

Nature is no longer conceived of as an enormous mechanism with strict, immutable laws, but as something disordered and chaotic. Hence scientific work implies in the first place ordering and structuring this disordered world theoretically, and in the end shaping it methodically. Man does not face this world from the outside, and the world (that is, nature and society) is not a metaphysical object for man; we ourselves are integral parts of this world, which we can actively appropriate through theoretical and practical work.

Mach's conception of science, involving this emphasis on the tool-like character of theory and on the active shaping of the world through work, was linked to the hope that the general state of existence could be improved, that 'the *material* conditions of well-being' could be created, 'albeit for the moment unfortunately only *for part* of the people'. Yet Ernst Mach advocated not leaving this unsatisfactory situation as it was, but ' passionately and vigorously endeavouring to realize an ethical world-order with the aid of our psychological and sociological insights'. He also made it clear that such an ethical world order consisted of the material accomplishments of human civilization gaining '*general and equal* currency'.[4]

In Mach's conception science was a collective, social process of unified knowledge and shaping of the world (and not just the sum of the insights of individuals of genius); this in turn meant a cultural affinity with the working classes far exceeding mere sympathy with the cause of the labour movement. For this reason Friedrich Adler, the important theoretician of Austro-Marxism, and himself a scientist, could view Ernst Mach's conception of science as a major supplement to Marxian theory. Adler championed a unified world-view (such as it was understood by early modern scholarship) not least because 'views on nature and society are by no means independent of one another', and because he did not want the materialistic conception of the world to be propped up by (mechanistic) doctrines from physics which were already obsolete.

Just as Marx and Engels' materialistic conception of history and society neither involved nor entertained any eternally valid dogmas and truths, so must the natural sciences dispense with metaphysical concepts and, along with them, any systematic division of the world into completely different spheres (such as nature and society). Since secularism and a commitment to human well-being in this life were significant components of a materialistic conception of the world, there was a corresponding need to work towards a unity of human cognition and human capacity to fashion the one world we inhabit and the one life we possess. Those who believed in a hereafter, taking refuge in metaphysical speculation and denying the capacity of ordinary people to shape their own destinies, would tend to reject and fight against the unified world-view and the idea that man was fundamentally capable of consciously knowing the world and of methodically shaping it.

The intellectual climate at the turn of the century and the working classes

In academic circles in the German-speaking countries at this time there was almost overwhelming support for the notion that the fields of scientific knowledge must be separated into those concerning nature and those concerning society; and hence came a basic division between the natural sciences and the humanities or 'cultural' sciences. The underlying idea was that nature was governed by eternal, immutable laws, whereas the sphere of the 'mind' was dominated by 'personalities of genius'. This attitude was accompanied by disparagement, even contempt, towards manual work, and by an enormous emphasis on intellect, spirit and emotion as opposed to the 'cold rationality' of the natural sciences.

This bourgeois intellectual, humanistic attitude held out no opportunity to members of the working classes to develop an independent social identity, but required them to submit to this peculiar ideal of science and education and to assimilate into the 'German ethnic community'. In contrast, the 'scientific world-view', which in the tradition of the Enlightenment and the modern revolutions insisted on a culture of activity, did offer workers the chance to develop a sense of individual self-worth and an awareness of collective identity. At the turn of the century the popular education movement in Vienna, especially, provided a fruitful connection between the 'scientific world-view', of which Mach was an exemplary advocate, and the educational and self-educational efforts of numerous members of the working classes. Moreover, Anarchist and anti-authoritarian ideas were very widespread in the closing years of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Many workers (particularly skilled ones) had access to books of a scientific character which were products of a tradition of materialism and radical enlightenment. Theory was aimed at political practice, and was not intended to hinder, prevent or replace political action. In the labour movement education never meant the teaching of ostensibly valuable items of knowledge, but always the ability to organize ideas and to acquire knowledge for oneself, coupled with the capacity to recognize one's own interests and plan for their political implementation. In this context it had always been important as a matter of principle to create through 'education' something that could be called an 'awareness independent of crises'. So the true quality of workers' education was always to be measured by the development of individual and collective intellectual capacity, and that implied the ability of individuals and collectivities to think and act independently (that is, not only in line with the orders of leadership).

The proponents of the scientific world view advocated an autonomous intellectualism and independent rational thinking and planning in the everyday lives of individuals, and in the collective, democratic shaping of society. For them science by no means implied a sphere of purely theoretical contemplation, of 'pure' cognition of the world; it essentially meant work. Hence science was a process of actively shaping nature and society. In this conception education could not represent the passive absorption of whatever scientific insights were offered, but must mean active participation in the construction of knowledge and so also in shaping the world.

If science belonged to the sphere of work, then there was a cultural affinity between scientists and the working classes, and not the scorn for manual labour and esteem for the 'intellectual' so characteristic of the intellectual bourgeoisie. The popular education movement linked with the scientific world-view was not sustained by petit-bourgeois, 'humanistic' condescension towards the lower social classes, but deliberately related to the experiences, knowledge and skills of factory hands and skilled workers, particularly in the technical fields. This meant that workers did not have to adopt alien 'bourgeois' cultural traditions and attitudes, but were on the contrary strengthened in their own social identity.

The scientific world-view (from Ernst Mach, through parts of the Monist movement, Friedrich Adler, Alexander Bogdanov, to Otto Neurath, Philipp Frank and Edgar Zilsel) consistently promoted on the basis of scientific insights the development of proletarian self-awareness, and above all the evolution of the intellectual self-organization which was seen as inseparable from it, and which must logically lead to the conscious organization (that is, improvement) of social conditions.

From an overall perspective, however, this also meant the promotion of anti-authoritarian stances and radical democratic efforts and, connected with them, an endeavour to exert political leadership from below. Altogether it implied a striving for the democratic control of the processes of production and distribution, hence a genuine victory over capitalism.

Edgar Zilsel: science, labour and education

Edgar Zilsel was born in Vienna on 11 August 1891, the son of the lawyer Jacob Zilsel. From 1902 to 1910 he attended the Franz Josef Gymnasium in Vienna (today the Federal Grammar School in the Stubenbastei), where he took the *Matura* (leaving certificate) in July 1910. From the autumn of 1910 until the summer of 1915 he studied philosophy, mathematics and physics at the University of Vienna (with an interruption by military service in 1914–15); he wrote a doctoral thesis entitled 'Ein philosophischer Versuch über das Gesetz der großen Zahlen und seine Verwandten' ('A philosophical essay on the Law of Large Numbers and its relations'), and was awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy in June 1915.

Even during his student-days Zilsel was evidently already interested in literary and musical modernism, and took an active part in the *Akademischer Verband für Literatur und Musik* (Academic Literary and Musical Society). Founded in 1908, this had 'set itself, a union of students and their friends, the task of working in the field of the arts independently of established movements or existing currents and, particularly, of procuring students a greater share in artistic life and opportunities for artistic activity, thereby forming a complement to the existing scholarly associations'.[6] Readings and talks about music, art and science were organized, and works by Schönberg, Berg and Webern performed; Karl Kraus gave readings, Arnold Schönberg, Adolf Loos and Oskar Kokoschka lectured. One of Zilsel's earliest publications was not a scientific, but a 'literary' article: 'Mozart und die Zeit: Eine didaktische Phantasie' ('Mozart and the age: A didactic imagination'), which appeared in the periodical *Der Brenner* in December 1912.

From September 1915 Zilsel worked as an actuary in a life insurance company, but resigned after only a year and once again attended university, to prepare for the state examination for the teaching profession. After having worked since February 1917 as an uncertificated secondary-school teacher, he passed the state examination in mathematics, physics and general science in November 1918. On 19 February 1919 Edgar Zilsel married the teacher Dr Ella Breuer. Their son Paul was born on 6 May 1923.

As well as teaching at secondary school Zilsel also taught at the Vienna institutes of adult higher education. From the academic year 1922/23 onwards the school authorities granted him leave of absence so that he could take up a 'teaching assignment for philosophy and physics' at the *Volksheim* (people's institute) in Ottakring. Thereafter he worked uninterruptedly in popular education in the city until he was dismissed by the Austro-Fascist regime in 1934.

In 1923/24 he made an attempt to qualify as a lecturer at the University of Vienna, but it came to nothing because of the anti-intellectual, anti-empirical stance on the part of leading representatives of the professoriate (particularly Robert Reininger and Richard Meister), which was directed against any original, innovative work seeking to transcended the narrow confines of conventional academic disciplines. In his criticism of the cult of genius and personality Zilsel had attacked an important part of the prevailing academic mystique. Subsequently he continued to devote himself to popular education, school reform in Vienna (he also worked in teacher training at the city's newly-founded pedagogical institute), the systematic treatment of problems in the theory of science, and above all to his studies of the history of early modern science.

In 1938, after Austria had been delivered into the hands of the National Socialists by the Austro-Fascist regime under Chancellor Schuschnigg and

German troops had occupied the country, Zilsel, as a Jew, was dismissed from the teaching profession and sent into compulsory retirement. With his wife and son he managed to go into exile, first in England, then in the United States. On 11 March 1944 he committed suicide.[7]

The whole of Edgar Zilsel's work must be viewed as offering an alternative to the prevailing intellectual currents and social conditions of his time, as an endeavour building on the civilizational, and at the same time civilizing, models of thought and social coexistence that were produced by a number of intellectuals towards the end of the Austro-Hungarian period. All these formulations were characterized by the fact that, drawing on the experiences of Western civilizations (Britain, the Netherlands, France of the Enlightenment and the Revolution), they propagated rational thinking and acting, a scientific conception of the world and a self-conscious approach to living.

In his first book *Das Anwendungsproblem* ('The Problem of Application'), published in 1916, Edgar Zilsel wrote:

> We human beings can erect edifices of thought, we can construct theories, we have managed to create numerous sciences. These edifices of thought are comparatively simple, precise and rational, but nature, on the other hand, is complicated, vague and irrational. Moreover, we have devised these rational edifices ourselves according to many different methods, but we must accept nature the way it is. Nevertheless, these intellectual edifices are not just fantasies; irrational nature can still be mastered rationally. With mathematics and physics we can build machines, there seems to be a bridge between theory and practice, theories can be applied to the reality we have been given, the rational to the irrational.[8]

Amidst rampant holistic doctrines, the idolization of nature, the 'new' metaphysics, and religiosity, Zilsel, in the heyday of physical knowledge and the physical world-view but in contradiction to the older mechanistic conceptions, stresses:

- the disorder, the chaos and the 'irrational' aspect of 'nature'
- the possibility of structuring 'nature' and the world through scientific knowledge and active formation
- the possibility of rationalizing the irrational.

Accordingly, man does not merely discover 'laws of nature', as if they are found lying by the side of the road and need only to be collected, he creates intellectual tools to structure a reality which is in itself unstructured.

Here the criterion of practice is crucial. (Does a bridge, once built, remain standing, or does it collapse in an instant?) Significance also is the insight that we do not need to know the total situation to be able to act perceptively and formatively. May in our world, too, 'every partial occurrence be connected with the overall constellation, may the incidence of meteorites on Sirius be of influence on the movement of a ball on earth, but in our world there are partial causes, deterministic links not only of overall constellations, but also of the parts of constellations'?[9] Only in this way is scientific knowledge of the world possible and can the world be formed; observation, experiment, induction, causal thinking, the connection of theory and empiricism, all of these constitute modern science. 'Truth' is 'the determination of something indeterminate, the rationalization of something irrational'.[10]

In his second published book, *Die Geniereligion* ('The Religion of Genius') of 1918, Zilsel not only subjects the cult of genius and 'profundity' to devastating criticism, he also formulates in opposition to it the 'ideal of the matter', developing his earlier reflections on the 'rationalization' of the irrational.[11] He shows how the idolization of supposedly superior individuals—the geniuses and profound personalities—goes hand in hand with a contempt for the masses, how reverence for the activity of some few special spirits, treated as inordinately valuable and 'creative', coincides with complete disdain for work in general. (And we must not forget that the notions of genius and originality were closely connected with various racist conceptions of the pre-eminence of the 'Germanic peoples' and their creativity.)

One of the achievements of modern science was that everything could be made the subject of investigation and consideration; nothing was to remain sacred and concealed from view. If on principle everything was accessible to human knowledge or could be made accessible, there could be no (as it were) protected sphere of the irrational, which remained immune from rational cognition. The irrational realm certainly exists, but it is not closed to cognition, and hence can be treated rationally. (Edgar Zilsel shared this insight with Sigmund Freud, who—and that was what was truly scandalous about psychoanalysis, of course—had made the reserve of the emotions, the 'subconscious', accessible to rational analysis and discussion.) But in Vienna at the end of the nineteenth century people did not by any means enjoy access to such insight as a natural entitlement. As Adolf Loos ironically remarked, 'the introduction of Western culture to Austria' was required.[12]

The principles, methods and achievements of modern science had to be presented anew. The intended method was the permanent objectivization of all social processes and in particular evaluations; this entailed a constant relativizing of absolute value judgements, though not to the extent of abandoning in sheer resignation the goal of a rationally organized society, or of simply opposing 'bad' dogmas with 'good' ones. This approach was supported by the basic conviction that 'no metaphysical ideal can justify the veneration of people and misanthropy'.[13] What is remarkable about Zilsel's early work is that it does not make any systematic distinction between scientific behaviour and everyday life, and does not segregate ideas into the specialized disciplines otherwise so popular in philosophy: the scientific conception of the world was intended to determine the everyday lives of intellectuals just as much as anyone else's.

Long before the *Wiener Kreis* (Vienna Circle) generated its 'manifesto' on the scientific conception of the world, we can find the programme already stated in Zilsel's writing. For him science was the sum of work-processes which served the purpose of empirically recording and rationally explaining—and hence also rationally structuring—nature and society. Referring to Spinoza amongst others, Zilsel constantly directed criticism against the fundamental categorization of knowledge into the humanities, the social sciences and the natural sciences, which had established itself as orthodoxy in the German-speaking countries during the latter part of the nineteenth century. In his view the systematic separation of natural and social science diminished altogether the human cognitive faculty, and also the possibility of moulding nature and society consciously and methodically.

In his studies in the history of science Zilsel would later show that modern science, originating in latter-day Europe (and nowhere else), was the result of a sum of social processes (historically traceable), and not the consequence of racial characteristics and the superiority of the 'Indo-Europeans'.[14] Moreover, he constantly pointed out how much scientific statements and theories are determined by the social conditions of the time, and that for this reason no meaningful division into natural and social sciences can be made—except at the price that the conditions of scientific activity cannot be adequately reflected in theory (a state, of course, in which we find ourselves today). The systematic connection between cerebral and manual work, between artisan tradition and theoretical scholarship, accompanied by sustained co-operation on the part of researchers, based on the division of labour, to which modern science owes its origins and existence, was more than a process traceable through history; the beginnings of the modern sciences offered a wealth of examples, models and programmes, not only for the scientific community, but ones capable of being applied, above all, in the social coexistence of humankind in general. An investigation of the history of science presented examples of civilizational alternatives to Central European barbarism, but also exemplary approaches to the future organization of society within the bounds of a comprehensive culture of work (and not a debased culture of survival in a relentless capitalist contest).

In his early works, which were written and published in the closing years of the Austro-Hungarian era, and in open conflict with contemporary 'intellectuals' (ideologues like Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Otto Weiniger), Zilsel was already seeking to propagate the scientific conception of the world in its bearing on the lives not only of scholars, but of all people. After the foundation of the democratic Austrian Republic in 1918 he committed himself to the movement for school reform and to popular education. In an essay written in 1921 he declared it the task of philosophy 'to build a homogeneous edifice of truth encompassing the whole of nature and all the goals of life and art'. The aim was 'the synthesis of individual knowledge and living action in a uniform world view'. Accordingly, philosophy had to attempt 'to establish not only the unity of science', but also 'to unite the fundamental problems of the living and acting human being with those of the scientist, and human obligations and emotions with human cognition'.[15] For Zilsel philosophy should be orientated according to human action and human capacity to act, it should establish links between the particular disciplines of science as well as between science and everyday life.

The scientific world conception, the *Wiener Kreis* and popular education

> 'Scientists, united by a common language, form a kind of scholars' republic of work, however much else may divide men.'
> Otto Neurath[16]

What Zilsel in 1921, following traditional usage, still called 'philosophy'—albeit differentiating it from the conventional 'school philosophy'—would later be termed 'unified science'. Here science is conceived of as a collective activity, the methodically planned and executed, co-ordinated collaboration of diverse specialists, as a contribution to the amelioration of human existence. Science is no longer to be abstracted and isolated from the everyday lives of the mass of the population. Rational thinking, planning and acting are no longer to be merely the business of experts, belonging to the 'domain of the ruling élite', but to be the property of all.

The project of 'unified science' was not a gratuitously contrived and propagated idea, but the expression of a process already under way, the industrialization and socialization of science. In the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries scientific knowledge and its conversion into technologies and technical inventions had become increasingly integrated in the processes of industrial production. It was not (and still is not) the brilliant scholar in his study, but the employee of a publicly or privately financed research institute or industrial department who represented the normal instance of the scientist. Nevertheless, this 'industrialization' of science took place under the aegis of the private capitalist profit motive and hence by no means benefited as many people as it might otherwise have done. This kind of capitalist socialization, of course, found a correlation in the isolation of science from life and its dismemberment into many specialisms.

In contrast to this, the representatives of the scientific conception of the world of the *Wiener Kreis* concerned themselves with the non-capitalist socialization of science. And this, they believed, would succeed to the extent that the scientific conception of the world came, in Otto Neurath's words, to pervade 'the forms of public and private life' and help 'shape economic and social life according to rational principles'.[17] Accordingly, scientific knowledge and insights could not remain the preserve of a few, but were to be made accessible as widely as possible: everyone was to co-operate 'actively or receptively'. From this necessarily followed the close connection between scientific activity and work in education.

The truly radical aspect of the Vienna Circle's scientific conception of the world lay not in physicalism or political party affiliations, but in its redefinition of the social position and tasks of science, in its subversive attempt to democratize science, and in its systematic linkage of science, education and everyday life. In 1929 the declaration *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung–Der Wiener Kreis* ('Scientific Conception of the World–The Vienna Circle') was published under the auspices of the 'Veröffentlichungen des Vereines Ernst Mach' (Publications of the Ernst Mach Society), of which

Zilsel was a member of the managing committee. In the preface to the document it was pointed out that the *Kreis* 'consists of people with the same scientific outlook; the individual seeks integration, everybody stresses what is common to all, nobody wants to disturb the community with his own peculiarities. [It] endeavours to contact like-minded people and to exert influence on outsiders. Co-operation in the Ernst Mach Society is the expression of this undertaking.'

These efforts were aimed at 'linking and harmonizing the achievements of individual researchers in their different fields of science' and at familiarizing the public at large with 'the present position of the scientific conception of the world' by means of 'lectures and publications'. It was intended 'to fashion intellectual tools for everyday life, for the daily lives of scholars, but also for the lives of all those who in some way join in consciously shaping life'. The purpose was to 'form the intellectual tools of modern empiricism, tools that are also needed to organize public and private life'. A primary aim of the representatives of the scientific conception of the world was the unity of science. This goal necessitated 'the emphasis on collective effort':

> Neatness and clarity are striven for, and obscure distances and unfathomable depths rejected. [...] Everything is accessible to man; and man is the measure of all things. Here there is an affinity with the Sophists, not with the Platonists; with the Epicureans, not with the Pythagoreans; with all those who stand for earthly being and the here and now. The scientific conception of the world knows no insoluble riddles.[18]

The idea that such scientific aspirations might be pursued in institutes of adult education seems completely absurd today, but that was the reality in Vienna of the inter-war years (not least because established professors used their position to debar important scholars from making a university career). In the Viennese institutes of adult higher education, progressive results of science which were controversial and banned in bourgeois academia (anything from the theory of relativity to psychoanalysis) found a stronghold, as did new models of scientific activity in education. There is a close structural connection between scientific activity and rationalist approaches to education: especially when education is understood as the process of establishing the connection between scientific knowledge and individual and collective perspectives on life.

Representatives of the scientific conception of the world, such as Otto

Neurath, Edgar Zilsel, Friedrich Waismann and Viktor Kraft, taught at these centres in Vienna. The popular education movement in the city seems to have been remarkably successful in communicating scientific knowledge and linking it to the outlook and personal development of the participants, particularly at the *Volksheim* in Ottakring. At that period adult higher education reached into all strata of society; in some years it was even the case that blue-collar workers and office employees were considerably over-represented in proportion to their numbers in the population at large.[19]

Although the strict observance of ideological and political neutrality was one of the principles of the Vienna adult education centres, many workers were evidently of the opinion that the courses offered were of great importance for their lives and might help them to create their own view of the world and plan their future. The Viennese movement, neutral in principle, was by no means neutral or unpolitical in effect. It seems to have conveyed knowledge and accomplishments that enabled the participants to develop their thoughts independently and, in conjunction with others, better to understand and shape social conditions. In this respect the popular education movement in Vienna made a significant contribution towards the education of the working classes.

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Making Popular Education known to the Public: Dissemination of *Volkshochschulen* in Austria 1870–1930

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In Austria the *Volkshochschule* ('folk high school') is the best known among the numerous agencies for adult education, and for that reason enjoys, in the urban areas at least, considerable popularity. It is also one of the oldest and most interesting of these institutions, having its origins in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

In correspondence with this tradition, the historiography of the *Volkshochschule* has tended to focus on founding-figures and their institutions, and the narrative has generally been written as a great 'success story'. A selective tradition persists, in which history becomes a 'countdown' of the main events, an insistence on the uniqueness of the leading participants and the organizational pattern. The fact that the Austrian *Volkshochschulen* were so highly successful provides an excuse for attempts at a special kind of identification, legitimation or celebration of adult education itself. Yet the questions why and how this success was secured have seldom been asked. This is probably because most of the published work has been undertaken 'from inside outwards', by individuals or groups directly involved in adult education and therefore concerned to promote their own identity by constructing and reinforcing whatever positive image they can.

The general question

Before turning to specific historical aspects of the Austrian *Volkshochschule* I would like to consider the title chosen for this paper: it might be thought that the answer to the question 'How to make popular education known to the public' is obvious and easily provided. Generally speaking, the 'folk high schools', as the name suggests, along with other popular educational institutions which cannot rely entirely on state subsidy, have to address a wide public and to involve as many as possible in order to make their programmes effective and achieve real educational results through the broad dissemination of knowledge. Thus, the answer would seem to be to exploit means of publicity and propaganda so as to present the institution appropriately. But that would imply that institutions with comparatively few resources, and thus small budgets for advertising, would have little chance of addressing and attracting the masses. However, the increasing attractiveness of popular educational institutions from the latter part of the nineteenth century suggests that it is a rather limited interpretation.

The particular question raised in this chapter concerns the relationship between popular education and the public. More specifically, can we account for the successful dissemination of *Volkshochschulen* and their increasing popularity in the period 1890–1930? Does the intentional or unintentional self-presentation of popular education provide any clue to its effectiveness and status? Here it is useful to highlight the terms 'image' and 'public image'; they are rather confused terms, embracing an obviously complex phenomenon, as can be gauged from everyday language as well as from usage in the social sciences. They can be considered as hypothetical constructs which are not really a part of concrete social reality, but are nevertheless 'real'. They direct us to the 'contents of imagination', which individuals or collectivities associate with other people, institutions or social groups. This chapter will not dwell on processes of 'attribution' or 'signification', but rather will focus on forms of direct and indirect representation.

The basic characteristic of publicity campaigns seems to be to establish a position and to create a network of personal, organizational and institutional relationships, and correspondingly what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic capital'. This is the basic clue to 'how' and 'if' the educational institutions considered here survive and find their own identity. But it should also be noted that the construction of a 'public image' is a complex process, in which unintended attributes may emerge and thus result in unforeseeable effects.

The Austrian folk high school has undeniably been a success. From the end of the nineteenth century it has experienced continual expansion, even bearing in mind the dramatic events of the years 1933/34 to 1945. Socio-economic conditions have turned it into a modern service-sector institution. Although still regarded as voluntary and thus private—and still not on a par with the quaternary sector of the public educational system—the *Volkshochschule* has become the most widely established and the biggest provider of popular education of its kind in Austria.[1]

The upsurge of professionality within adult education since the mid 1970s has led to a more energetic discussion of aims, methods, though not, with a few exceptions, to more sustained research. Thus, I would stress the need for historical analysis—which is still not considered important because, as the expression goes, of its 'distance from practice'. The point has often been made that the troubled relationship between adult education and its own history generally results in the history being relegated to serve as a kind of waste-bin, which may be proudly emptied in the course of a jubilee or other celebration, so that a few relics may be exhibited to the public.

In 1993, for the first time ever, a national study was made of the *image* of the Austrian folk high schools, with the aim of gathering information on public attitudes. In passing it may be noted that the results of this research showed the *Volkshochschule* to be highly regarded in terms of *scientific character*, *usefulness, usability, modernity* and *progressivity.*[2] The possibility then suggests itself of an historical study of the evolution of this image. However, one immediately faces the problem of sources: such an analysis demands substantial data, and if the information was not recorded in the past there is little chance of obtaining it *ex post facto.* From the beginning of the twentieth century a succession of enquiries and statistical reporting has been assembled, but this does not say much about the complex phenomenon of 'image'. This chapter, concerned less with the public's response to the folk high schools and more with the way they presented themselves, is dependent on rather indirect source material.

Outline of historical background

Although the term *Volkshochschule* was first officially used at the beginning of the First Republic, to signify a particular urban institution, the term was already in use at the turn of the century. From the founding of the *Volksheim Ottakring* in Vienna in 1901, the prototype of the 'people's university' and the first to mark itself out as 'Volkshochschule', the term was used by the organizers and the public in a rather blurred way; the primary connotation was of the *Hochschule*, implying a university for the ordinary people, and the designation did not carry the sense of the Danish *folkehøjskole*. Properly used, the terms *Volkshochschule* and *Volksbildung* should have indicated a definite affinity to what was established with the *Volksheim Ottakring*, that is, extended courses in all fields of modern knowledge, and instruction in basic intellectual methods ('Kurse vom Rechtschreiben bis zur Kant-Kritik': courses from Spelling to Kant-Criticism),[3] conducted in purpose-made accommodation and taught by academic experts. However, the evolution of popular education in Austria, from the early liberal and workers' educational associations of the 1870s, through the introduction of 'university extension', and subsequently of folk high schools, led to the terms *Volkshochschule* and *Volksbildung* being used inclusively. As a result they appear in the literature as umbrella designations, also covering the earlier forms of popular education which led directly to the *Volkshochschule* proper. (It should be noted here also that the English translation 'folk high school', although customarily used, does not accurately convey the sense of the German word.)[4] Thus this chapter uses the terms 'liberal educational association', 'Volkshochschule/folk high school', and 'adult education', even though they belong to different historical periods, to characterize a coherent historical succession.

In Austria, as elsewhere in Europe, 1870–1930 can be regarded as the formative period in the development of institutions of adult education. Following the Revolution of 1848 and an incubation period during the time of Neo-Absolutism, the closing thirty years of the nineteenth century witnessed the first liberal and workers' educational organizations, mostly inspired and initiated by the liberal bourgeoisie. This period also saw state sponsorship of industrialization, an attempt by the economically, technologically, scientifically, militarily and of course educationally backward Habsburg Monarchy to catch up with European standards. Many political and social reforms ensued, beginning with the introduction of compulsory eight-year schooling and reforms in the university curriculum ('freedom of teaching and learning'). Social change also enabled the emergence of associations which by the late 1880s could begin to turn themselves into political parties.

At the same time, and despite suffrage reforms, the vast majority of people were unable, until 1907, to participate in political life; access to higher education was limited to a small élite, and women were denied entry to the university until 1897. Austria was undergoing a powerful but uneven industrialization, characterized by economic growth, high immigration of workers into the cities and subsequent change of existing social structures, in the course of which a new stratum was coming into being, struggling to assert its identity alongside the successful middle classes, and first achieving political self-consciousness in the 1880s. The situation of this new working class was however one of poverty and limited opportunity.

The early workers' educational organizations, like those of the liberals, considered their efforts to be compensatory,[5] essentially a response to the social question dictated by the ban on direct political activity. There may have been other motives: charity, economic aspirations, or even the perceived need for social control.[6] Yet, these private self-help groups, set up by 'unorganic intellectuals' in order to teach the vast majority of the population the basics of reading and writing and some general knowledge, were also deeply democratically orientated. Their aim was to enable participants to become mature citizens, to use 'their own brains' and express their own ideas and needs. Generally speaking, they provided the liberal bourgeoisie with practicable 'mobility-outlets'[7] to express the enthusiasm for social reform it was not able to express in overt political form; the associations concentrated therefore on culture, the arts and especially natural science.[8]

At their inception, the workers' educational associations (*Arbeiterbildungsvereine*) and the liberal educational associations (*Bildungsvereine*) operated in the same way for similar kinds of audience. The idea of *Volk* in the later nineteenth century applied, not to the undefined mass of the population, but rather to the lower strata;[9] the one most important link between workers' education and *Volksbildung* remained in the concept of the audience: the *Volk*. However, with the growing politicization of the working class and eventual formation of the Social Democratic Party in 1888/89 these two movements drew apart, and thereafter the educational aims and offerings of the Labour movement were focused on the class struggle. The widely held view of the folk high schools as a by-product[10] of the developing workers' educational associations can no longer be maintained: research reveals the differences to be just as important as the acknowledged similarities.[11]

Although the slogan 'Knowledge is Power' was also used in the expanding liberal educational movement (*Volksbildung*), it was understood and applied in a different way. Knowledge was to be disseminated according to the authority of university and school. The instructors, mainly university staff, school teachers and liberal intellectuals, were predisposed to maintain the 'objective' discoveries produced and ratified through scholarly research. In addition to its altruism towards the uneducated, popularization functioned as a vehicle for enlarging the influence of 'science' (in the German sense of the word) upon society. Sponsorship of popular lectures and literature was therefore not just an Enlightenment-inspired sharing of intellectual goods. It was also an expression of the generally altered, even inverted, balance in the power relations between science and the wider public which had been emerging since the eighteenth century, and from which the greater influence and autonomy of scientific practice derived.[12]

However, the emancipatory aspect of popularization was not restricted to the content of science (as for example in the Labour movement's view of 'science as a tool for social-economic change'), but was expressed through the encouragement of open access and freedom of thought. The belief in the independence of learning had a tremendous formative effect on popular education, and allowed a broad coalition to emerge among non-clerical conservatives, liberals favourable to social reform, and a Labour movement increasingly involved in practical educational networks.

It is interesting to note that the first popular educational associations were founded not in the capital Vienna, but in provincial towns such as Graz (Styria, 1870), Linz (Upper Austria, 1882) and Krems (Lower Austria, 1884), and also Prague (1869). It was only thanks to the foundation of the *Niederösterreichischer Volksbildungsverein* (Lower Austrian Popular Educational Association) in 1887 that the movement finally reached Vienna. In 1893 the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* emerged as the centre-piece of urban popular education in Austria. The personal commitment of certain founders of the Vienna association then led to the institution of *volkstümliche Universitätsvorträge* (popular university lectures) at the University in 1895,[13] as an equivalent of the English 'university extension'. In response to the great success of these lectures and the enthusiasm of their audiences, an association presenting itself as a kind of university open to the public was set up, which in 1901 founded a *Volksuniversität* in the 16th (Ottakring) District of Vienna. Only four years later the association had erected a building of its own, to accommodate the *Volksheim Ottakring*, an institution always regarded as the first evening-class 'folk high school' (or more accurately 'popular university') of the kind in Europe. That was also the first time the 'extra-mural' function of university extension was able to take on independent form and secure its 'own four walls'.

At the same time, Vienna's other basic popular university, the *Urania* founded by industrialists in 1897, was concentrating on the presentation of natural science and technical innovation. Thus, with the help of those three popular universities, the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein*, the *Volksheim* and the *Urania*, a wide choice of adult education, ranging from basic instruction to high-quality seminars of a university standard, was available and decisively shaped popular education in the years before the First Republic.

Dissemination of popular education in the public sphere

Returning to the initial preoccupation of this chapter, we need to ask what image of its work popular education conveyed to the public—or how the self-image arising from institutionalization permeated the 'outer world'. The lack of sources, already noted, can compensated in part by the use of published statements, posters, newspaper articles and surviving statistical information.

There is evidence that all the popular educational associations of the late nineteenth century advertised themselves through announcements and leaflets. Furthermore active 'platforms' gradually came into being as a result of the enthusiasm of relatively small, but well-organized communities of interest. The founders and chief supporters tended to be prominent people, local 'notables' who owed their success to intelligence and progressive attitudes. They were respected for their involvement in social reform and commitment to democratic values; they were either wealthy or else able to contribute prestige and the social connections which go with prestige. Such people often worked for, several educational associations at the same time and their impact was correspondingly great.

A particular point to be made here is that the grammar school teachers were the real mediators and bearers of early *Volksbildung*. Involvement often provided them with an opportunity to advance professional standing in an occupation which had become stalled in the course of reform of the educational system. Voluntary work for the associations allowed the teachers to deploy their skills and thus provided a route to enhanced reputation through contact with the bourgeoisie or even the liberal nobility. Also, through co-operation with the 'university class',[14] they could stay in touch with higher education; and they were able to strengthen this connection when university extension provided a vehicle for the continuation training of grammar- and elementary-school teachers, as at the universities of Vienna and Innsbruck in 1897, and Graz in 1898.[1]

Intense continuity of personal contacts and exchange of experiences through the printed word, the steady growth of branches and networks, all these soon created the image of a dynamic, comprehensive movement. The image does not seem to have been exactly a topic of explicit discussion, but it was clearly present in the use of metaphors in which the principle of 'Enlightenment' was contrasted with and dissociated from the appeal to outmoded authority. The enthusiasm and increasing self-confidence of the liberal-democratic movement of educational reform is best illustrated from the fast-growing journalism, the numerous periodicals and leaflets, which facilitated and intensified the exchange of information and experience. Thus, the imagery of the 'Power of Knowledge', emphasizing the idea that science can be used as a weapon to expose 'false leaders and prophets', appears several times in the first manifesto of the (Styrian) *Steiermärkische Volksbildungsverein* founded in 1870.

Though there are hints of a somewhat forced optimism, the *Volksbildungsbewegung* could nevertheless present itself as an open system: it was—as Alphons Petzold, one of the most famous Austrian workers' poets of the day, later put it when referring to the *Volksheim Ottakring*—the 'house with a hundred windows'.[16] The movement thus sought to adopt the enlightened-rationalist position, and so place itself in sharp opposition to metaphysical, conservative-clerical doctrines. The metaphor of the 'house of a hundred windows', which gained wide currency, was also intended to characterize the co-operative learning of the different social groups, and the congenial atmosphere they shared within their associations.

The publications of the movement, sometimes enjoying a considerable circulation, always emphasized that the work of the associations was open to all without restriction, and was thus completely a matter of public benefit. The declared aim was to convey knowledge and education to the *Volk*, and not to a particular class or interest-group; no-one should be excluded. The associations accordingly gave themselves constitutions which supported openness to the outside world and active involvement of learners. To allow audience involvement in the choice of lectures, the *Volksheim Ottakring* instituted a council, elected by and from the student body, and represented also at meetings of the general management committee.[17]

In contrast to the highly exclusive recruitment and hermetic structure of secondary and university education at that period, the folk high schools were characterized by their compatibility with a wider public. The relationship in popular education can be described as *transitive*, or open to both sides. The invitation to take part, the voluntary juxtaposition of teachers and learners, created a dynamic arena of experience which was not determined by specific interest or ideology, and was thus accessible to all. As a result the *Volkshochschule* itself became, if only in a specific sense, part of the 'public realm'.

Neutrality and objectivity

In trying to live up to a self-imposed ideal of 'neutrality', the folk high schools were in marked contrast to the institutions of the workers' movement. Ludo Hartmann, one of the most important initiators of the *Volkshochschulbewegung*, spoke insistently of the need for neutral education. A former student of Theodor Mommsen, and an engaged member of the Social Democratic Party, he formulated the aims of neutral adult education quite clearly:

> We want to keep at distance from any kind of politics—not because we are opportunists, but because we strongly believe that politics should be a part neither of schools nor of the aims of popular education. We consider politics as belonging to parties and anything we aim at should be limited to the spreading of education and science.[18]

There were certain fundamental theoretical ideas underlying this 'neutrality' in popular education, which supported an identifiable though still not very coherent *Viennese Style*. Yet, Marriott goes too far in representing this early appeal to neutrality as a 'watchword for education'[19] deriving primarily from Ernst Mach's 'empirio-criticism' or the constellation of ideas later formulated as the *Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung* (scientific world-conception) of the *Wiener Kreis*.[20] The neutrality and also the *Wertfreiheit* (freedom from value judgements) were certainly an expression of a rather 'lively secular rationalism'[21] of the time, but to a great extent both elements were simply a pragmatic response to political and financial considerations. The avoidance of controversial topics and the stress on objectivity in teaching—which together formed one of the most significant elements of self-presentation—must also be seen from the perspective of a 'minimization of conflict'. (Only from this angle is it clear why the *Volkshochschulen* remained 'neutral' in the face of the advancing Fascism of the late 1920s, especially when the availability of Logical Empiricism should have offered them tools enough for a critical response to the situation.)

It is no accident that while a wide choice of popular educational activity was made available—musical entertainments, educational excursions, language courses, handicrafts, theatrical productions, lantern lectures and film screenings—the movement still showed an affinity to the authority, objectivity and reliability of the academic arts and sciences, unmistakably centred on the University of Vienna. The connection was even more significant because of the University's recent move into its new accommodation (1884), a building in the 'Ringstraßenstil' in the Italian-Renaissance manner, which became an architectural exclamation-mark for science, academic culture, technical progress and the rationalistic attitude of the rising middle class.

The 'symbolic capital' of the university was personified by those professors and lecturers whose names served as eye-catchers in the advertising put out by the folk high schools. The academic and civil titles of the lecturers were used as guarantees of high qualification, and thus as a kind of trade mark. It is also worth noting that the architecture and especially the shape and disposition of rooms at the three Vienna *Volkshochschulen* closely resembled university accommodation. There were lecture rooms, small but well-equipped laboratories (the *Urania* even having an observatory), reading rooms and libraries—all confirming the idea of a subcutaneous relationship between '*thought* and its social setting'.[22]

Apart from the aspect of scientific objectivity, the insistence on neutrality also reinforced the exclusion of any kind of everyday politics and again minimized the risk of conflict. One practical reason was the need to attract as many benefactors as possible—or, as Emil Reich, a university teacher and one of the founders of the *Volksheim Ottakring*, once put it in a discussion with German colleagues, to renounce talking ethics for fear of losing subsidy from the state.[23] A number of conflicts arose during the time of the Monarchy, and the situation of popular education could be somewhat delicate. Initially the conservative-clerical faction in Vienna refused to offer the folk high schools meeting-places for their events. However, as time passed even it could no longer stand in the way of successful and non-profit organizations, and finally had to accept them.

Again, the open structure of the folk high schools was a great advantage, as it enabled co-operation with a variety of institutions, and thus secured access to facilities which before the turn of the century they themselves lacked. That was why courses could be held in grammar schools, in workers' educational centres (by that time already politicized), as well as in premises belonging to the commercial community. In contrast to the Christian-Social city council of the Monarchy, the 'Red Vienna' of the First Republic no longer inhibited the work of the *Volkshochschulen*, and even took the first steps towards a state-organized and subsidized structure of adult education.[24]

Volkshochschulen: a 'democratic forum'

Political-ideological neutrality, a varied programme of courses and lectures, democratic structures, a marked absence of distinctions between teachers and learners, an attractive institutional basis, offered the masses considerable inducements to form an attachment. The distinctly open structure of the associations produced a forum of communication and social practice, where what I propose to call 'casual alliances' could form. To the conclusion that the folk high schools became part of the civic, public realm, it must be added here that the space they occupied was one of intense relations, a democratic forum where heterogeneous elements came together to form a horizontal network of casual alliances. In this way was created within the loose general public a specific *inclusive* public, something which had not existed previously, and did not exist subsequently between the two world wars.

The traditional nexus between ownership of property and education which was characteristic of the *exclusive* culture-consuming public of the eighteenth century[25] was cancelled by the liberal educational associations of this time. Following the schemata of Lottes and Habermas, I would like to present the kind of inclusive[26] public created by the early liberal associations and the succeeding *Volkshochschulen* as 'plebeian public', in contrast to the more oppositional and highly politicized social-democratic 'proletarian public'[27] formed by the agencies of the Labour movement.[28] The 'plebeian public', treated categorically rather than historically, could be defined as a

> variant of civil-bourgeois public, because orientated on its pattern. On the other hand it is more than that, because it develops the emancipatory potential of the civil-bourgeois public in a new social context. The plebeian public is to a certain extent a civil public, whose social requirements have been cancelled.[29]

In this sense one may describe the sites occupied by an inclusive public as *Heterotopias*, 'counter places' sharpening their contrast with the traditional ensemble of cultural or political sites by implicitly calling that ensemble into question. *Heterotopia* would therefore be a place in which a Utopia is partly realized—or in Foucault's words: 'A realized utopia, in which the real places within society are at the same time represented, contested and turned, so to speak places outside of all places, although they can actually be located.'[30]

The inclusive character of those 'educational' places made it possible that various unusual alliances could come into being: an 'alliance between university professors and "simple" workers' existed alongside an 'alliance between the liberal bourgeoisie and the working class', an 'alliance between the social-democratic intellectuals and the conservative notabilities', an 'alliance between the "big names" in science and art and the "no names"', or more abstractly, to use a phrase recently coined by Harbers, an alliance between 'Olympus and Agora'.[31]

The places where those alliances could happen were basically the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein*, the *Volksheim Ottakring*, and to some extent the *Urania*. One of the most productive, an exemplary model of co-operation between lay people and experts, formed within the *Volksheim Ottakring*. Between 1905 and 1932 over sixteen so-called *Fachgruppen*[32] were established. These 'specialist groups' supported an intensive form of education in the fields of natural science and philosophy, but also in music, English, photography, and tourism; they were organized by experts, and their advanced students sometimes made so much progress that the results of their work could be published and eventually cited in scientific journals.

Apart from multiple 'dual' alliances of this kind, the folk high schools also functioned indirectly as a kind of catalyst to produce interdisciplinary studies out of the mutual stimulus and influence of lecturers coming from different research fields. Along with Karl Bühler and Paul Lazarsfeld, Carl Grünberg was among the first to lecture in the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* of the 1890s; he went on to found the Marxist periodical *Archiv für Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung* in 1910 and to assume the direction of the *Institut für Sozialforschung* established in 1923.[33]

Volksheim Ottakring can be described as a kind of intellectual laboratory where established scientists lectured, alongside the less established who were trying to popularize independent lines of research which were still not recognized at university level. I refer here to members of the *Wiener Kreis*, psychologists, sociologists and Marxian theorists. Volksheim *Ottakring* was also the place where 'experimental psychology' found its first laboratory.[34] As well as providing a meeting place for those already mentioned, the *Volkshochschulen* offered authors and artists the chance to popularize their work.

In the period 1903–04 two surveys of adult education were undertaken. A study of the 'volkstümliche Universitätskurse' (university extension) questioned 1,635 participants (40 per cent female);[35] the other at the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* questioning 627 participants (23 per cent female).[36] The aim was to find out why these people actually attended courses. Most replied that they wanted to 'enlarge their knowledge and widen their horizon with the help of primary sources'. Regarding recruitment, it is worth noting that among the various channels of publicity, word-of-mouth propaganda was found to be notably significant. The course members were often not directly contacted by the folk high schools, but found their own ways to these institutions. Participants also stated that they wanted to use the courses to mix with 'different, higher social classes'.[37] 'Vocational usefulness' was not surprisingly another significant motive in that context.

The representation of different occupations was also recorded. Participants in university extension included a high percentage of workers (printers; metalworkers; assistant carpenters, shoemakers and bookbinders) which rose from 25 per cent to 34 per cent in the period 1895–1914. In the *Volksheim Ottakring* the proportion of manual workers rose from 23 per cent to 44 per cent between 1919 and 1932,[38] years which saw a drastic decline in the organizations of the workers' movements and the trade unions.

The folk high schools succeeded much better than the politicized workers' educational organizations in addressing the mass, and they also managed to bring ordinary people to accept them as their own. As can be seen from a few surviving comments by former students, this was especially true for the *Volksheim Ottakring*, which participants often referred to as 'theirs'. In her brilliant study of 1911 Hertha Siemering used subjective impressions to suggest how the *Volksheim* was integral to the workers' everyday life:

> In the middle of the most elegant Vienna, on the 'Ring' we board the tramcar which brings us to the 16th District. Still we are surrounded by the bright light of the arc-lamps, but little by little it gives way for the more modest light of the gaslight. Also the outward appearance of the passengers changes; from stop to

> stop the number of the well-dressed declines and that of the modest-looking increases. As a view through the window shows we are now in a workers' district. Shortly before the stop where we have to leave the carriage we ask the conductor for the way to the Volksheim. Immediately some of the passengers listen attentively and join in the conversation, showing us the direction we have to take. A pleasing indication of the popularity of the Volksheim.[39]

Reporting in the press

Evidence for the popularity of the *Volkshochschulen* is—beyond the scattered reminiscences of participants—is most clearly found in newspaper articles. The question is, which factors, apart from the populace's general eagerness to learn, can be held to explain the great and growing popularity of the folk high schools during a relatively short period? Admittedly this chapter cannot provide a definitive answer to the question, but certain striking illustrations taken from the Vienna press and from advertisements can be offered.

At the beginning of the 1920s the distinguished sociologist Leopold von Wiese, in the book which he edited, *Soziologie des Volksbildungswesens*, dealt with the relationship between press and popular education. In his essay he concentrates on the 'products of the press as possible tools of Volksbildung'.[40] He sees the press as the most significant means of education, capable of creating an 'outstanding connection with the wide, wide world',[41] as a result of its unsystematic and indiscriminate approach to the transmission of knowledge operating as a 'universal means of transportation'. The implication for popular education is that it should on the one hand develop its own publishing activity and on the other seek to find links with the press. Wiese expresses the idea so: 'The more the daily press incorporates news, stories, lectures, etc from the Volkshochschule, but especially the ethical spirit of the true institutions of Volksbildung, the better for the press and the people.' He concludes his argument by saying, 'Any kind of institution of Volksbildung, but especially the Volkshochschulen, should adopt the newspapers as its tool and then use them for its own ideas of continual progress.'[42]

In this light it is interesting to take a closer view of the contemporary relations of the daily press and the folk high schools. A number of tentative considerations can be offered. In general the daily press at the time of the Habsburg Monarchy and the First Republic can be divided into several major segments of varying scope: the political papers, the 'big press', the local papers, the boulevard press and the official journals.[43] For present purposes the contemporary press can also be divided into the conservative-clerical papers, the liberal papers and those allied to the Labour movement. News coverage reflected ideological stances, which were marked by a tendency to exclude notices of particular kinds of events. Generally speaking, the newspapers were either supporters of *Volksbildung*, or else they tended to exclude it. Numerous papers did promote adult education, though without being completely 'overpowered' by it as von Wiese demanded.

It was probably because of the previously described neutrality of *Volksbildung*, which involved the co-operation of different political groups and a perceived public usefulness, that folk high schools were only infrequently attacked in the press. Yet, the activities of popular education did have a social-reformist tendency, which was usually regarded positively by the social-democratic press and negatively by the conservative-clerical. The social democrats appreciated that there was a division of functions between *Volksbildung* and workers' education—the one being responsible for the encouragement of general knowledge and the other for fostering class-consciousness, whereas the conservatives regarded the *Volksbildungsverein* and especially the *Volksheim Ottakring* as the 'Red Plague'. The *Urania*, however, which was always closely connected with industrial circles and the social élite (its original committee consisting almost entirely of industrialists), was usually favourably treated in the clerical-conservative paper the *Reichspost*, but was ignored by the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. It might be thought a mere coincidence, but it is interesting to note that only the *Urania* was (and still is) located close to the political-administrative centre of the city, in what was then a new building on the Ring Straße in the First District, among the office buildings, whereas the other folk high schools were placed on the periphery of the upper- and middle-class world.

It is not surprising that generally speaking the activities of *Volksbildung* were especially well received by the liberal press, and even more so by the left-wing press, when many social-democratic intellectuals co-operated with the associations and Social Democrat politicians might even be found on their management committees. The greater part of the positive response was to be found in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. However, this paper could not refrain from attacking the associations occasionally, on account, as it was said, of their 'naive pseudo-neutrality'.[41] Yet, it also drew readers' attention directly to the activities of the folk high schools, and not without pride. The items it published were usually on the openings of new buildings, various celebrities, meetings, and even the details of committee meetings and annual reports; interestingly, the language used was close to that of the associations' own publications. Also, many articles were written by leading *Volksbildnern*, 'galvanic individuals'[45] such as Hartmann, Reich and Leisching.[46] Thus one can speak of a close link between liberal/social-democratic journalists on the one hand and popular educators on the other. For instance, in 1901 the highly regarded editor of the liberal *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, Moritz Szeps, also founded the *Wissen für alle: Volkstümliche Vorträge und populär-wissenschaftliche Rundschau*, the organ of university extension in Austria.

In 1895 the *Arbeiter Zeitung* proudly informed its readers of the introduction of university extension to Vienna: 'It will certainly guarantee fame to the Vienna University that its scholars and leaders make it the first German university to embrace the same choice as their English counterparts.'[47] The *Arbeiter Zeitung* also supported the formation of the *Volksheim Ottakring*, by steadily reporting the meetings of it advocates and publicizing the foundation appeal. Readers learned the names of the university teachers who supported the project, were told how the projected 'Volksuniversität' would follow the examples of Toynbee Hall and the Peoples' Palace in London, and the *Universités populaires* in Paris, all of which underlined the international quality of the initiative. The *Arbeiter Zeitung*, reporting the inaugural meeting of 24 February 1901, emphasized the presence of 'numerous, outstanding representatives of the sciences'[48] as well as representatives of the *Reichsrat* (Austrian House of Deputies); it also reported the messages of congratulations sent by leading university teachers and by a famous Liberal member of the House of Deputies. The commentary in the liberal *Neue Freie Presse* even included details of the main address given that day.[49]

A month after the inaugural meeting an appeal by the association was published, listing plans for courses in philosophy, history and physics, as well as for setting up a laboratory for physics and chemistry. It declared that

> Any trader as well as any worker, any civil servant as well as any teacher or sales assistant is offered an institution of common endeavour – in a way Vienna has never before encountered. We would explicitly like to invite the members of the working class to join our association. Everyone is given the opportunity to breach the monopoly of higher education and this is why the working class in particular must not miss its opportunity.[50]

It was pointed out at the same time, however, that 'any kind of political activity would be banned from the Volksheim, since only the striving for pure knowledge should unite the participants. Everything having to do with parties would be banned from the Volksheim completely.'[51]

In addition to this ideological positioning the offer of courses in the natural sciences was especially appreciated by the organs of the trade-unions like the *Österreichische Metallarbeiter*,[52] which emphasized the practical use of basic knowledge, for instance in chemistry. From the other side the *Österreichische Chemiker Zeitung*, the offical organ of the Austrian association of chemical engineers, printed appeals for assistance in equipping the chemical laboratory at the *Volksheim Ottakring*.[53]

It is evident, even in the official organ of the Social Democratic Party, that the emphasis on neutrality was significant. The *Arbeiter Zeitung* was also prepared to print detailed reports of various meetings, such as the Erster Deutscher Volkshochschultag (first German folk high school conference) at Vienna University in 1904, where representatives of university extension in Innsbruck, Graz, Freiburg, Munich, Berlin, Prague and Budapest were present and to which the universities of Cambridge and London sent their compliments and congratulations.[54]

The liberal-bourgeois press also wrote enthusiastically about the activities of these folk high schools, which promised to unite the different social classes. The *Neue Freie Presse* proudly claimed that its coverage of their activities had provided strong support for the *Volkshochschulen*. Its readers were informed about the extensive co-operation of scholars, artists, universities, trade unions, and the Austrian Chamber of Labour as well as the Chamber of Commerce. They were also given news of the generous donations made by the liberal nobility, for example the families Rothschild and Pallavicini. It is interesting that the 'amateur' status of the educational associations was positively reported, and that emphasis was given to the fact that several functionaries were acting in a voluntary capacity. The journalists never wearied of pointing out that everyone working for the *Volkshochschule* did so as an act of self-sacrifice, and thus of registering the unselfish and serious character of such associations.

In contrast to the papers mentioned above, the *Vaterland* and the *Deutsche Volksblatt*, both conservative-clerical and strongly anti-semitic journals, fiercely attacked the setting-up of the *Volkshochschule*. The writers either polemicized against freethinking-Masonic-positivist scientific tendencies, or else invited their readers to join the crusade against Jewish-social-democratic influences,[55] pointing out the incompatibility of such activities with the Christian-Catholic conception of the world.

Overall, then, the liberal and the left-wing press applauded the 'Volksbildungsarbeit', and thus greatly helped to legitimize and popularize it. Even the clerical-monarchist voice of the government, the *Reichspost*, which only thought the more conservative-bourgeois *Urania* worth favourable mention,[56] implicitly helped to legitimize the movement by not writing about the *Volkshochschulen* too negatively or—even more important—too often. The main reproach of the ultra-conservative *Reichspost* was not directed against the simple fact of the popularization of knowledge belonging to an academic élite, but against the suspicion of liberal/social-democratic agitation for an 'overthrow'.[57] The general idea of popular education was *expressis verbis* affirmed but at the same time rejected on aesthetic-political grounds:

> Equality—the pretended motive of the Volkshochschulen—is a very splendid idea, but can never be realized as between the highly educated and the less educated. The latter will be dominated by the educated classes whether this is justifiable or not. As a matter of fact, nowhere are Combes's politics and fashionable science treated more explicitly than in the courses mentioned above. However we in Austria are now also blessed with such educational establishments. Liberal nobleman and industrialists have given financial support to the building in Ottakring. [...] As cultural warfare cannot be sufficiently practised in public life, the 'Volk' will at least be able to float in this atmosphere in the theatres or during lectures—cleaning out religion and massacring the priests.[58]

(Émile Combes, prime minister of the French Republic since 1902, was noted for his secular-radical policy on the separation of State and Church.)

Since the idea of the *Volkshochschule* was so widely appreciated, and because the notion of 'neutral' educational work was so obviously successful, there seemed to be no need for a specific attempt to win over the press. In fact, most newspaper reports promoted an image of a very self-confident movement, which on the one hand was still struggling to gain ground, but on the other hand had broad aims deeply rooted in the humanistic Enlightenment, presented nothing obviously subversive and could therefore be easily characterized as of positive public benefit. Neutrality thus functioned as a kind of variable, which could be interpreted according to circumstances: whilst enabling workers to attribute something 'subversive' to the 'fraternization of science and labour', it allowed liberal circles to talk about democratization, and persuaded conservative groups to see a mainly charitable function in the popular dissemination of knowledge.

The 'ideal-type' interpretation (in the Weberian sense) of neutrality offered here usually appeared in less pure form in the real world of newspaper journalism. It is interesting to read about the task of 'democratic', 'sozialpädagogische' popular education in the Labour press. The following, from the social-democratic *Vorwärts*, appeared in 1922 under the title 'Von der Halbbildung zur Volksbildung' ('From half-education to popular education'):

> If it is true that attending school facilitates life, the democratic state that actually aims at being democratic needs different kinds of schools from those of an authoritarian state. It is the task of the latter to train only the privileged classes to exercise power over the rest, whereas—as far as the education of the disadvantaged is concerned—the privileged are only interested in the following: to make them efficient in their occupations, to fulfil their duties towards the ruling class. Education in the cultural sense is seen solely as a luxury, which only the upper class can afford, and which might make the lower classes fight against the privileged. The authentic democratic state should be seen as the complete opposite of that described above: it requires a populace in which every single individual feels responsible for the whole and thus co-operates actively in order to make it successful—according to ability and capacity. The individual is not only seen as an economic cell in the narrow confines of an occupation, but—in addition—as a politically thinking and acting member of the unity. This is why the democratic state urgently requires a kind of higher education institution whose task it is to make educable members of all classes, who are thirsting for education and culture, to bring them to encounter the values which are the foundations of our cultural life. These 'high schools' would operate in addition to the vocational schools and the technical colleges and their socio-educational function would be that of the modern Volkshochschule.[59]

The central argument of that passage is to some extent still valid in our days.

Advertising through posters

Apart from propaganda by word of mouth, press reports and announcements, the posters put out by the folk high schools were another element of direct public-relations work, by which contact with the potential audience was sought in the streets. In Vienna the first posters were produced by the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* on the occasion of the introduction of the 'volkstümliche Sonntagsvorträge' (popular Sunday lectures). These posters were large, composed of text without illustrations, and listing the choice of topics covered by the lectures—from hygiene, through natural science, art and history, to commercial bookkeeping and accounts. From 1895 when the 'volkstümliche Universitätsvorträge' (popular university lectures) enlarged the supply of scientific instruction the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* also added concert and theatre events, recitations and educational excursions.(60)

The early posters, directed at all classes of society, were simple print without pictures of any kind—a very interesting fact given the high incidence of illiteracy in the population of that time. This style of publicity, which remained unchanged up to 1918, closely resembled that by which university lectures were announced, or government decrees notified to the public. It contrasted strongly with that adopted by the Labour Movement, which exploited all available contemporary technical devices using distinctive symbols and graphic illustration. Thus, these posters exhibit a specific aesthetic quality, whereas the ones produced by the *Volksbildungsvereine* were—aesthetically speaking—neutral. Their communication value was limited to pure information-giving.

Nevertheless, the voluntary associations, which received little support from public funds and relied heavily on the subscriptions and fees of members and students, could not risk using visually aggressive publicity for reasons of political acceptability and social respectability. Those responsible were convinced that the wide choice of lectures and courses as well as the rapidly increasing membership were doing a convincing job anyway.

Generally speaking, 'marketing' was not though to be required. In none of the associations covered in this chapter was there a committee responsible solely for publicity or public relations. Examination of the publicity produced by these associations fails to reveal any conscious concept of advertising layout. The few statements available on this matter show that in practice the design and distribution of posters was managed in ignorance and without any professional contribution. Usually, in place of conceptual appreciation, there was spontaneous improvisation. It was only after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that the publicity of the *Volkshochschulen* began to change.

Although the urban *Volksbildungsvereine* were founded entirely by the liberal bourgeoisie of the 'Late-Enlightenment' and derived their sense of mission from it,(61) and although they shared a formal 'neutrality', there were nevertheless differences in their programmes, educational policies, and their audiences. All this is reflected in the advertising of the 1920s. In contrast to the *Wiener Volksbildungsverein* and the *Volksheim Ottakring*, which were both closely linked to the Labour movement, the rather conservative *Urania* started to advertise its events through expensive illustrated posters, and made increasing use of them from the mid 1920s. Again, in opposition to the other two folk high schools, the *Urania* concept of education had little affinity with the 'scientific concept of the world', the 'Wissenschaftliche Weltauffassung' of the *Wiener Kreis*, but was much more inspired by Grundtvig's ideas favouring personal development rather than the formal elaboration of knowledge. Accordingly, popular and vivid lecturing occupied a bigger and more significant place in the programmes sponsored by the *Urania* society. And in addition to the observatory, its film shows, introduced in 1911, attracted more people than any purely scientific-artistic activities.

However, it should be said that the expansion of the *Volkshochschulen* does not seem to have been achieved through expensive publicity. The predominance of neutral letterpress advertising, without illustrations and probably not very attractive to the public, cannot be overlooked. It seems that the folk high schools could be sure of a large recruitment even in the absence of elaborate propaganda. Although the students were of varied class origins, there was still a kind of homogeneity resulting from an eagerness for education and knowledge that could be easily stimulated and satisfied by folk high schools offering a very varied diet and charging only small fees. In the absence of alternatives and given the rather depressing conditions of everyday life[62]—at least as far as working-class people were concerned—it is obvious how attractive such activities, housed in pleasant and roomy accommodation, must have been. The collective identity of the educational organizations, including the committee members as much as the students, was founded on the eagerness to disseminate and will to learn evident among several classes of society. But it was also rooted in a co-operative and stimulating atmosphere inside the *Volkshochschulen*, which was in complete contrast to the everyday situation and did not need to be suggested by the devices of publicity.

Apart from those attractions, the programmes of the *Volkshochschulen* enjoyed an identifiably scientific-artistic-literary character which was consolidated over a period of years. Authors and artists, and well-known scientists worked as lecturers and course-leaders, in a setting where there was open access to lecture-rooms and libraries, and to scientific laboratories which were in some cases better equipped than those of the university. All this was publicity enough.[103]

Conclusion

In summary it may be said that the process by which the folk high schools were disseminated and became socially 'embedded' proved successful for a number of reasons. On the one hand, the social-ideological diversity of the activists and the quality of their enthusiasm were major factors conducive to stability. Furthermore, the movement was characterized by its numerous opportunities for co-operation, and a dynamism which enabled it to cope with adversity. The initiators benefited from what one might call a 'multiplier effect', as in the case of the secondary-school teachers mentioned previously, who found an opportunity to enhance their own professionalism through involvement in the associations. On top of that, a relatively fast-growing body of journalism covered the activities of the folk high schools and supported a high degree of informal exchange of experience, something which was also reinforced by the dense network of personal connections among the initiators.

On the other hand, the *Volkshochschulen* became increasingly popular because of their distinctive 'scientific objectivity' and ideological 'neutrality', which prevented the politicization of the movement and kept the risk of authoritarian police interference and censorship within reasonable bounds. Indeed, the *Volksbildungsbewegung* surrounded itself with the insignia of state-approved, normative authorities, such as the University and the *Hochkultur* (high culture), making us of their symbolic capital in order to legitimize its own educational work. By avoiding political and religious issues, any kind of contamination by what could be seen as a culture of subversion was avoided. On the contrary, additional integrative and *inclusive* factors, such as the broad scope of what was on offer and the open structure of the associations, with all the consequent opportunities for participation and identification, created the specific open space which I have referred to as a 'plebeian public'. In that space numerous productive alliances could come into being. All this was possible because the populace demonstrated its eagerness to learn.

These factors, as well as the considerable promotion through the press, which documented their good relationships with the now quite influential workers' movement, meant that the folk high schools were widely represented in the media and gained a positive public image. The image encouraged the spread of the *Volkshochschul*-movement and probably (though this is only a hypothesis) also strongly promoted the emergence of a corporate identity within this field of educational association.

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Conditions, Aims and Functions of State Policy for Adult Education: The Austrian example in historical and contemporary perspective

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Introduction

This chapter focuses on current public policy for adult education in Austria and traces lines of development from the first emergence of such a state policy. By examining a modern historical development, which runs in parallel to the experience of the Austrian Republic founded in 1918, the attempt is on the one hand to reveal the basis of contemporary adult education policy, and on the other to suggest possible continuities and structural characteristics which may have served as functional determinants. Discussion proceeds in two steps. First, I offer an evaluation of adult education policy under the First and Second Republics (1918–1933/4 and 1945 onwards). Secondly, selected aspects of current policy are analysed: the question of defining competences through legal-constitutional regulation; co-operation in and policy for developing methods to resolve the more important political and structural peculiarities, both of adult education and of the state's attitude towards it.

The first stage in the argument, which extends into the period of the two fascisms (Austro-Fascism from 1933/4 to 1938, and National Socialism from 1938 to 1945), is dealt with only briefly. This is not because it is seen as lacking significance for adult education; rather the decision reflects problems to do with the historical sources and the necessary limits imposed on a chapter such as this. It should be noted, however, that the two fascist episodes brought about the destruction or loss of valuable traditions in adult education. Particularly damaging was the expulsion and destruction of intellectuals—especially Jewish intellectuals, for whom the process continued, in that their reinstatement was not welcomed by Austrian government ministers after 1945.[1]

The present landscape of adult education can be sketched as follows. Despite some apparent erosion of the dominant Austrian political system, one significant characteristic remains its 'double pillarization',[2] the defining features of which are the powerful influence of political parties, of the (Roman Catholic) church and of 'social partnership', the third of these being a form of neo-corporatism. Because of this double pillarization it is not feasible to speak of adult education in general; organizations must be understood according to their affiliations with the respective camps. This peculiarity of political-social organization is also reflected in the clear separation between organizations for general and for vocational education. A final introductory remark concerns the use of terms. For the First Republic this chapter uses the designation 'popular education', and for the Second Republic 'adult education'.

The beginnings of adult education policy

The origins of a state policy for popular education can be traced to the foundation of the First Austrian Republic in 1918. Since that time concepts and structures for its encouragement have existed. The first initiative was connected with the Social Democrat Otto Glöckel, who held office as under-secretary of state for education in the social-democratic–conservative coalition government of 1919–20. Glöckel is known as a school-reformer who tried to realize the ideas of the *Einheitsschule* (comprehensive school) and the *Arbeitsschule* (work school). After the collapse of the coalition, he moved to the Vienna local education administration where he continued his work for school reform, and was able to exert considerable influence on state policy. Glöckel's plans for school and popular education were marked by efforts to reduce the power and influence of bureaucracy, by creating new departments and by engaging expert advisers. The latter tactic was especially important, and a group of close colleagues, Viktor Fadrus (pedagogy and school policy), and the scientists Hans Fischl (school policy) and Carl Furtmüller (individual psychology)—the three 'Fs'—took their stand on an educational reform programme based on up-to-date scientific concepts and methods.[3]

This approach could be described (with some reservations) as an attempt at 'objectification' through the inclusion of experts in the advisory and decision-making sphere. The influence of bureaucracy was restrained to some extent. Yet there was no 'objectification' in the sense of reducing the force of intense political and ideological conflicts. The opposite was the case. A *Kulturkampf* (culture struggle) between fundamentally opposed factions raged around the educational system. In the field of 'popular education', which had been developing and institutionalizing since the middle of the nineteenth century, three social movements took up their positions: the liberal-bourgeois intelligentsia in the cities; the working class organized as Social Democracy in the industrial areas; and the Catholic church exerting the greatest influence in the rural areas.[4] In this conflict Social Democracy exhibited a more extensive and detailed capacity for policy-making than the conservatives. In contrast to the situation today, the situation of the First Republic was marked by real and fundamental political differences, and particularly towards matters of educational policy.

The Glöckel education reforms were put through against a background of economic development and the necessary modernization of agriculture. Economic growth was seen to require the mobilization of all occupational and educational reserves. On the one hand the work-capability of each citizen, to be brought out by vocational training and higher levels of qualification, was emphasized; on the other hand, an educational case was urged for an 'organic development of the peoples' soul and all the abilities which are part of it, in the sense of the growth of personality'.[5] But policy in popular education was also supposed to contribute to the integration of all citizens into the new and as yet untested Republic. The journal *Volksbildung* observed that every revolutionary period produced heightened awareness and greater potential for education.[6] One can indeed speak of a revolutionary situation in 1918–19. The birth of the First Republic was accompanied by uprisings, strikes, and a soviet movement. The effective contribution of Social Democracy was to disable these insurrectionary movements, to 'functionalize' them within a representative democratic system and to incorporate them into the overall state ideology.[7] Through the paradigm of personality growth, which could be thought of as harmonizing with the social-democratic conception of the 'new mankind', it was thought that the seed could be planted for an 'ideology' of popular education; and this would in its turn influence public policy by marshalling the philosophy of the *Neue Richtung* (New Direction), which was then being imported from Germany. At this point popular education began to turn into 'formation of the people'.

Organization of popular education by the 'Regulativ'

The decree of 30 July 1919 (*Regulativ für die Organisation des Volksbildungswesens in Deutsch-Österreich*) set up an administrative structure for popular education. Overall control was located in the *Deutsch-Österreichisches Volksbildungsamt* (Office of Popular Education), which was part of the *Unterrichtsamt* (Department of Education). Its responsibilities included: organization of the popular education system as a whole; administration of state funding for this activity; support of the free (voluntary) associations in the field; initiation of new organizations; training of educators; provision of an information centre for educators; publication of a specialist review for popular education; and so on.

The organizational model was a form of representative democracy, with *Bildungsräte* (educational councils) from the grass roots upwards, that is at the levels of local communities, districts, and provinces. There were three *Volksbildungsarbeitsgemeinschaften* (working groups for popular education) with close links to the Austrian universities; a *Deutsch-Österreichischer Volksbildungsrat* (Federal Council for Popular Education); and an *Arbeitsausschuß des Deutsch-Österreichischen Volksbildungsrates* (Working Committee of the Federal Council). Throughout this structure of councils, membership included representatives of popular education agencies; teachers; office employees; representatives of professions, trade and business; representatives of trade unions and of various other councils, such as those for workers, peasants, citizens and soldiers; representatives of the participants in popular education. Each educational council was to be elected for three years, and the basic principle was that freely elected representatives and the administration should work together. A further very significant and practical piece of legislation was the decree of 16 July 1919, which stipulated that all accommodation in schools and all educational materials were to be available for the purposes of popular education.

The Glöckel period was too short to register any great success. But the reforms introduced by the under-secretary of state did stimulate some movement on the adult education scene. Although it is not clear how many community educational councils came into being,[8] the new instructions did have a positive impact and stimulated productive debate. The *Regulativ* provided a basic framework for policy, and it survived in truncated form in the education ministry and its offices for popular education.

The Neue Richtung as basis for popular-education policy

Heinz Kindermann, the ministerial *Referent* (adviser) for popular education during and after Glöckel's period of office, criticized 'extensive' popular education on the grounds that it lacked an emotional component:

> If we enquire into the success of such a popular education we have to say—whilst recognizing the great idealism with which the work was done—that the results were in many cases unsatisfactory; continuity of participation naturally suffered when there were hundreds of auditors to be taken care of. Apart from that, mutual contact between teachers and auditors became impossible. Frequently it was shown that the participants in such arrangements did not retain more than empty catchwords; the belief that these could be put to use gave rise in many cases to a disastrous hothouse-culture, and that was surely intended by no-one.[9]

Nevertheless, the alternative, the 'New Direction', does not seem to have succeeded as intended in Austria. At a conference of popular educators in November 1923 Kindermann offered sceptical comments,[10] and there were clearly different facets to its 'reception'. The physicist and popular educator Anton Lampa (from 1919 to 1922 *Referent* for popular education at the Ministry, and from 1927 to 1934 director of the *Wiener Urania* educational centre), was the only Austrian member of the 'Hohenrodter Bund', the select group which sought to articulate the core philosophy of the *Neue Richtung*. But he understood the movement to be primarily a pedagogical orientation which put individual education before mass education; he critically distanced himself from German-Nationalist variants of the New Direction.[11]

The problem of popular education was a 'mass' problem, but always there should be regard for the individual. 'The big number is nothing, the individual all.' At the school level it was clear that education took on a richness of meaning only when the groups being taught were of a certain size, and this must also be the case for popular education. Given that popular education was nothing more and nothing less than awakening 'the potential personality in every individual', it must address itself to every individual. Consequently, Emma Lampa would argue, alongside her husband, mass education was only possible when enjoyment was stressed or when the collective spirit was raised by art, music and religion.[12]

According to Kindermann education must embrace the individual's total personality. The task of popular education was not to create 'little academics', but in every field of knowledge to make the audience familiar with the 'endless greatness and the many-sided character of our German culture'. It dealt with nothing less than the 'complete complex of spirit and of sense of the entire German culture of life'. This must to be mediated to the 'whole immiserated people' because a healthy condition would be attained 'only when a cultural upswing enables an economic one'.[13] Kindermann polemicized indirectly against the subject- and knowledge-orientated educational activity of the Vienna *Volksheim* (people's institute). This work aimed to give the people a capacity for independent thinking; in addition to the *Fachgruppen* (the specialist study-groups, which gained a reputation across Europe), it made use of long-term programmes of study. Even a declared opponent of Viennese popular education could acknowledge the genuine deepening of knowledge secured by these methods.[14] Kindermann did not oppose independent thinking in itself. The task he attributed to the ideal of 'intensive education'—the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (study group), which contrasted with the university seminar and the *Arbeitsschule* in the way it involved teachers and students in a shared search for conclusions—was that it should provide participants with the 'critical independence' necessary for the contemplation of character and personality. This critical independence was given a function within what was in effect a totalitarian scheme of things. The educator seized the opportunity for a 'real apprehension of the personality of the individual participant'. The student, thus captured and educated 'through and through', was to be guided towards the 'personal and objective sensibility' which must be cherished as an 'indispensable assumption of all life-culture'.[15]

The impact of the *Neue Richtung* in Austria could be seen in its contribution to theoretical debate about the tasks, nature and objectives of popular education. There was apparently a pragmatic welcome for certain elements of its doctrine, such as small-group pedagogy. 'New Direction' thinking seems also to have touched the beliefs driving rural popular education, and especially where *Heimatbewegung* ('native' movement) ideology could tap into a latent or open animosity towards urban living.

In sum, the significance of the *Neue Richtung* can be found in its contribution to an ominous 'Austria-ideology' in the context of the doctrinal preparation for Austro-Fascism, and not in any great movement covering all or any important part of the system of popular education. According to Wilhelm Gärtner, ministerial *Referent* for popular education in Upper Austria and critical interpreter of the dominance of German popular educators, the Austrian contribution to the 'New Direction' lay 'in the clarity of our way in the field of physical education, in the clarity of the first part of our way to remedying the mental isolation of the peasantry, and in the beginnings of clarity about the problem of the native movement'.[16]

Rural popular education

At the centre of state policy in the First Republic was the support of popular education in smaller towns and rural areas;[17] as a result many residential institutes were founded and the education of the rural population, and especially the peasantry, occupied a foreground position. Carried forward in part through an emphasis on *Heimat*-thinking, this policy amounted to a specifically Austrian reception of the *Neue Richtung*: as Wagner wrote in 1924, the 'native-experience is probably the necessary starting point of every popular education venture in Austria'.[18]

The urban Volkshochschulen, most of all in Vienna, with their close connection to the universities and science-based activities, already had an impressive record in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and they survived the First World War. In the provinces and especially the rural areas, the situation was quite different. After the war reconstruction appeared to be necessary, and there were three considerations governing the orientation of public policy towards rural education. One was the serious economic backwardness of agriculture; the others were political and ideological. The focus on supporting and developing rural education was the antithesis to the flourishing popular education of 'Red Vienna'.

While the Vienna *Volkshochschulen* could draw on sufficient reserves to ensure survival even in the worst circumstances (such as withdrawal of municipal subvention, as happened under the mayoralty of Karl Lueger),[19] such resources were lacking in the provinces and regions. There were serious shortages of competent teachers, accommodation and equipment. Many popular institutes were simply 'falling asleep' during the World War, and in contrast with the Vienna centres were incapable of learning new responses.[20]

After the war, in the smaller towns and rural communities the school and the vicarage became centres of popular education. The responsible office in the ministry and its *Referenten* acted as motors for the encouragement of new institutes and associations. Only one of the nine Austrian provinces took responsibility for administering its own popular education, and so avoided state influence from Vienna.

Education for the unemployed

Special courses and other educational arrangements were put in place from the 1920s onwards. The mass unemployment of the 1930s led to such activities acquiring a new meaning. The different concepts and positions are signposts to the situation, ideology and praxis of the various stake-holders in popular education. Under the auspices of the project *Jugend in Not* (Youth in Need) courses for young unemployed people were financed by central government, the provinces and municipalities. Separate classes were provided according to sex and affiliation to the main ideological-political groupings.[21] The central concern was not to give the unemployed improved qualifications, but to provide a sort of occupational therapy to guard against isolation and a rejection of society. The link to the 'body of the people', which seemed to be severed by the loss of work, was to be re-established, if only 'mentally'. Young men and women were offered an educational programme with 'civic and patriotic content', in which values such as national identification and love of country were inserted in various ways. Males were exposed to definitions and theoretical reflections, but females were occupied in only very practical expressions of these values.

In the Vienna *Volkshochschulen* the starting point in education for the unemployed was undoubtedly work, and vocational training and improvement of qualifications were successfully pursued. The *Volksbildungsverein* (Popular Education Association) ran special morning courses for those out of work. In 1932/33 the most popular of these were in English for beginners, bookkeeping, orthography, French, Russian, and advanced English.[22]

So-called education was also laid on at construction sites where the unemployed were engaged, for instance road-building schemes. Keeping the workers quiet was the main objective; all arrangements were supposed to bring 'gladness, entertainment and useful diversion'.[23] Within the scope of the *Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst* (Volunteer Labour Service) training courses for leaders were run, the idea coming from the popular education section within the federal ministry, which also provided funding from its own budget.[24]

In 1933/34 the Austro-Fascist regime proscribed working-class organizations, and also began its purges of adult education. Educational programmes with an intellectual content were suspect in the eyes of authoritarian rulers; anything which might encourage independent thinking was incompatible with the *Ständestaat* based on metaphysics and the notion of assigned social rank. Apart from propaganda, the cultivation of hobby, heart and soul became the most important elements of adult education,[25] a development encouraged by existing emphases on an education founded on introversion. Austro-Fascism prepared the ground for its National Socialist successor. The Nazis found an adult education system which was already part of the propaganda machinery of authoritarian government. They experienced no difficulty in taking it over and adapting it to their purposes.

Adult education policy after 1945

In the winter of 1945/46 a central office was established in the ministry of education; it included a set of subordinate offices, each headed by a specialist federal *Referent*, for administering popular education in the provinces. Governance was according to the 'Glöckel *Regulativ*' of 1919. Only Vienna and the Vorarlberg retained devolved competence for adult education, and so escaped control by *Referenten*.

Policy in the twenty years of so after the Second World War had two determining characteristics. First was the sustained demand for increased state subvention;[26] second was the use of legislative regulation to assign meaning to 'adult education'. Various factors contributed decisively to this evolution. There was a need to increase state financial support in order to ensure the survival of important institutions, yet there was no clear conception of the position of adult education within the framework of public policy on education.[27] Neither did the agencies of adult education have any clear position on their tasks; what happened was that they became engaged in a search for 'new self-understanding'.[28]

Conferences of international organizations held in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s provide frequent evidence that closer attention was being given to adult education, but its status was 'not clear enough in international forums like Unesco or the Council of Europe, or within the educational system of each country'.[29] Although a number of these conferences led to the assertion that a 'common language' had emerged among adult educators, it must be said that dialogue was possible only 'in a very general form, on the basis of compromise'.[30] This was a reflection of the fact that the 'political-ideological starting points of the participants' were very difficult to span.[31] By the 1960s clearer statements on the function of adult education became possible, as its admission into the planning complex was noted, and its full integration into the educational system foreseen.

In Austria the 1940s and 1950s saw a distinctive process of institutionalization. Regional and national associations played an increasing part and adult education began to acquire political weight. Co-operative alignments among various agencies were a noteworthy feature, but the diverging lines adopted served to frustrate any state policy for adult education. At the same time the two major vocationally-orientated bodies came on to the scene: the *Wirtschaftsförderungsinstitute* (Institutes for Economic Promotion) founded by the chambers of commerce in 1946, and the *Berufsförderungsinstitut* (Institute for Occupational Promotion) in the employee sphere in 1952. A 1957 ruling of the constitutional court established that occupational training and further education were not part of the mission of adult education.[32] Responsibility for (general) adult education lay in the public sector, while chambers and associations in the industrial/commercial sector were competent for occupational and vocational adult education. Consequently, in the framework of social partnership, and in relative independence from public corporate bodies, the provision of vocational adult education was able to develop very quickly and equip itself to a high standard.

Inclusion of adult education in educational planning

In the mid 1960s forward-looking concepts and proposals were produced in response to the OECD report on educational planning in Austria. Contributions in the adult education sector included many concrete provisions intended to lead to reform: training of full-time and part-time workers; full-time, expert personnel to work on the development of adult education; international contacts as part of the training process; improved payment for course-leaders. Fundamental research and training in co-operation with the universities was encouraged, for it was considered absolutely necessary to establish adult education as an academic subject. A specialist academy for political education should be set up, and the constitutional position of adult education in relation to popular education was to be clarified by legislation.[33]

In the mid 1960s adult education appeared to be acquiring a hitherto unprecedented importance in educational and political debate. Henceforth it would attract increasing attention, at least in the form of programmatic statements. In December 1969 an enquiry into the place of adult education as part of the educational reform process was reported.[34] The published proposals were: removal of the distinction between general and vocational education; co-ordination of all associations and supporters of adult education; joint planning by all supporting bodies (associations, chambers, trade unions, military, and so on) and public corporate bodies (state, provinces, communities); a Federal commission to report on the situation; dedicated accommodation to be provided for adult education and account to be taken of its needs as part of new school-building projects; training of adult educators; increased recruitment of full-time staff; schemes of adult education at pre-university level; co-operation with the national broadcasting corporation. 'Modern adult education' was to be conceived as lifelong learning, not just making up leeway but a 'voluntary and sustained completion' of the educational process begun in school. It was to take place on three levels: improvement of individual life-chances; intensification of learning through technical progress; contribution to the reform of democracy.[35] The state must also contribute through subsidization, that is to say: legislation on the subject; securing finances, personnel and equipment; forward planning of permanent elements of the system; inclusion of adult education in academic research and teaching. As a matter of urgency adult education should shake off 'the appearance of amateurishness, dilettantism, irregularity and haphazardness'. A 'new appraisal of adult education' could be expected to have financial implications. In regulating its content, adult education must adapt to 'actual need' as well as to the 'objective requirement'; knowledge and attitudes were important in equal measure.

Steps to the reform of adult education

Many of these proposals were based on the driving contribution of social-democratic ideas to the educational reform debate. From 1970, and the entry of the Socialist (subsequently Social Democratic) party into power, there followed a phase of implementation. The declarations of the 'Kreisky I'

(1970–71) and 'Kreisky II' (1971–1975) cabinets indicated a central commitment to developing adult education within the framework of overall educational reform. There was a need for a common and co-ordinated system extending from pre-school to adult provision; it should be flexible and boast a clear structure, with numerous opportunities for individual choice.[36] The Kreisky II government declared in November 1971 that a draft law for promoting adult education had been put out for expert and political comment. Special attention was drawn to suggestions for political education by the parties, including an existing proposal for a special law.[37] The first legislation to give effect to adult education policy was the federal law of 1972 on the promotion of civic educational work by the political parties, which led to the foundation of political academies for the parliamentary parties.

In the 1970s trials for reforming adult education were begun through major projects such as the determination of constitutional responsibilities, legislation for distance education, paid educational leave, multi-media teaching. If these projects failed it was because the tasks of adult education were too easily sacrificed to other arrangements, compromises and political deals at the time, and also because adult education failed to exert sufficient pressure. There was no shared strategy among the different organizations, and in many instances distrust (attributable to the strong 'pillarization' referred to above) still prevailed. Adult education was not able to exploit political involvement or penetration to build up a lobby for asserting its own interest within or through the parties.[38]

By the 1980s a more or less systematic policy of structural development through concrete projects had begun. Support by the Ministry of Education for full-time staff to undertake planning provided a basis, which should not be underestimated, for introducing greater professionalism into the institutionalized sector of adult education. The actual developments are described and discussed in the following section.

Selected fields of public policy for adult education

Determination of responsibilities under the Austrian Constitution

Educational policy in the period immediately after the Second World War was eclipsed by the attention given to problems of economic reconstruction. In the second control agreement (1946) the Allies required a progressive, long-term educational programme to be drawn up. This gave impetus to the debate over schooling, and in particular over the constitutional basis of the educational system.[39]

The terms of the Austrian federal constitution of 1920 reveal a failure of agreement on how competences were to be distributed between the federal state and the provinces for the control of school and popular education. The reasons lay in unbridgeable differences between the political parties and in basic contradictions between the advocates of federalism and centralism.[40] This important area was left to be regulated at a later date according to constitutional prescription. That would be possible only through matching laws of the federal state and the provinces (compacted legislation).

In 1962 the school system was subjected to regulation, with just one safeguard: any further change in the law would require a two-thirds majority in parliament. The 'school compromise' was reached only because negotiations took place directly between senior representatives of the conservative Austrian People's Party and of the Socialist Party, to the exclusion of affiliated organizations which could be expected to have a vested interest in the matter.[41] Adult education remained unregulated, and definitional problems to do with terms such as 'popular' and 'adult' could not be resolved.

After 1945 many proposals for a constitutional regulation of adult education, based on the 'Glöckel-*Regulativ*', were proposed from different sides.[42] The status of this regulation as the basis of state action was given prominence by a verdict of the constitutional court in 1958 quashing proposed legislation by Kärnten (Carinthia) which would have located competence for the adult education system in the province and the communities. From that point adult education was drawn into 'the suction of a discussion relating to the problem of centralism and federalism'.[43] By the late 1950s the dispute over federalism had already been provoked by the provinces, with the object of securing a redistribution of competences.[44] Then the school laws of 1962 confirmed extremely important and far-reaching powers at the federal level. The state controls all educational provision from elementary school up to the universities and all the main categories of organization. It can be presumed that the provinces did not want to relinquish all educational privileges to the federal government; therefore there was an attempt to keep adult education separate. As a subject of regulation it had acquired a high symbolic content. 'Federalistic trench warfare' was conducted around it.[45] Neither the federal nor the provincial governments made any serious attempt to involve the associations for adult education, to the contrary in fact. In 1982 the associations were compelled to state that 'for the *Juristis* of the Ministry of Education and Arts and for the provinces we are an area about which decisions are made and not an area with which co-operation is practised'.[46]

Adult education exhibits a range of attitudes towards constitutional regulation, ranging from anxieties about being 'provincialized', to the sheer indifference of the numerous organizations with a large amount of leisure-time provision and consequently no interest in the formal regulation of examinations. When its interests have been made into a tactical plaything, it is obviously not surprising that adult education should lose interest in constitutional clarification. A short skirmish on the field of federal governmental reform, whereby in December 1993 the provinces demanded full competence for adult education, was brought to an end in February 1994 after vehement protests from the associations. In a letter of 16 February to the minister for federal affairs, *KEBÖ* (Conference of Austrian Adult Education) declared against an exclusive provincialization and for 'co-operation between the state, the provinces and the communities'. The minister, Jürgen Weiß, replied on 24 February that the provinces had decided to defer the question. Quite remarkable was his statement that the constitutional position of adult education would be decided in the context of an 'eventual new regulation of competence in the school-system'.[47] The loop back to the school legislation of 1962 had been closed. Adult education in Austria has to be understood in terms of the debate about federalism, and about school policy, which remains for the most part a federal subject.

The search for co-ordination in adult education

The case for adult education bodies to co-operate among themselves and with public officials is argued from the point of view of the need to optimize provision and to achieve integration into the educational system.[48] The marked institutional segmentation of adult education, the segregation according to party-political and confessional affiliations, and the split between general and vocational education permit a great deal of duplication. The well-supported offerings of one organization are imitated by the others, with the result that overall provision becomes narrower. Like it or not, we observe an increasing uniformity, and impossibility of sustaining requisite variety. The towering importance of the institutions encourages a process of constant self-reproduction. Participants and potential participants have to adjust their wishes for further education to what is on offer. It may be that many are deterred from taking part because the programme does not allow them to realize their actual needs. Institutionalization and segmentation support the development of particular foci for adult education, whilst at the same time creating blank patches—whole districts, perhaps, insufficiently provided for. Genuine co-ordination proceeds from an acceptance of educational planning and the postulate of equal opportunities.

Co-ordination from below and from above

Co-ordination is not a product of recent times. During the First World War Wilhelm Gärtner, the teacher from Oberösterreich and later *Referent* for popular education, worked to build a 'union of all associations which seek to work along popular-educational lines'.[49] At the begin of 1919 the *Verband zur Förderung der Volksbildung in Oberösterreich* (Association for promoting Popular Education in Upper Austria) was founded; twenty-eight bodies came into membership, though not the Catholic organizations which were suspicious of Gärtner's connections with Social Democracy. This association was faced with a new situation when the 'Glöckel-*Regulativ*' brought its existence into question. There followed vehement criticism of the policy being put out from Vienna. Owing to financial difficulties the Upper Austria association subsequently disbanded.

In May 1972 *KEBÖ* was set up as an 'independent forum of meeting and co-operation' of adult educational institutions in Austria. Its objectives are: representation of common interests *vis-à-vis* the state, the provinces and the communities; advising the ministry of education and other public bodies; commenting on educational policy; gaining public 'anchorage' for the idea of adult education by maintaining a common front in working for its recognition as an equal part of the educational system; joint discussion on pedagogical questions. *KEBÖ* has no central office, and member-organizations take it in turn annually to provide the chair.[50]

Before 1972 Austrian adult education had no common representation, despite its advanced stage of institutional development. The differences between the various organizations were too great and loyalties to the different political camps too strong. In the 1960s representatives of divers organizations of general adult education began to meet in a more or less regular 'Conference of Austrian Adult Educators'.[51] In these meetings new models of education such as television and radio were discussed, but also topics such as the introduction of educational planing, the poor provision of full-time staff, lack of training opportunities, integration of general and vocational education. In 1966 a proposal for the formation of a 'Working Group of Austrian Adult Educators' was made.[52]

Two important initiatives took shape at the end of the 1960s. From 1969 onwards the Ministry of Education mounted a series of seminars on 'New Ways of Co-ordination' which brought together representatives of all institutions of adult (including vocational) education. The *Berufsförderungsinstitut* arranged two seminars on 'general and vocational education' in 1968 and 1969 and these included representatives of the 'social partnership'. A third seminar to be promoted by the institute to discuss the formation of a national association had to be cancelled because of numerous objections raised by the conservative and the church camp.[53] Political sensitivities had to be taken into account: the proposal was for a national body with fourteen representatives providing a balance as between the conservative and progressive interests[54]—but in a situation where conservatives were preponderant in the adult education system as a whole. The initiative did not conform to the practice of reflecting majority influence, and is best understood as an attempt to achieve a better political balance.

The adult education section of the Ministry made further moves to get discussion of 'new ways' and the outcome was the formation in 1972 of *KEBÖ*. Its original member organizations were: the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Bildungsheime Österreichs* (Working Group of Residential Education Centres), the *Ländliches Fortbildungsinstitut* (Institute for Rural Education), the *Ring Österreichischer Bildungswerke* (Circle of Austrian Educational Undertakings), the *Verband Österreichischer Volksbüchereien* (Association of Austrian People's Libraries), the *Verband Österreichischer Volkshochschulen* (Association of Austrian Folk High Schools), and the *Wirtschaftsförderungsinstitut* and *Berufsförderungsinstitut*, already mentioned. Later the *Institutionen katholischer Erwachsenenbildung* (Institutions of Catholic Adult Education), the *Verband Österreichischer Schulungs- und Bildungshäuser* (Association of Austrian Training and Educational Centres) and the *Volkswirtschaftliche*

Gesellschaft (Society for Political Economy) entered into membership. Up to the present day the conservative interests have been preponderant.

Although many proposals for founding a common national body came from the associations, they were not able to realize this by their own efforts. The influence of the ministry, drawing on ideas from the 1960s, had to be brought to bear. The history of the foundation of *KEBÖ* demonstrates the strong party-political penetration and the existence of a laager-mentality. And it must also be seen as co-ordination 'from above'. The matter was an urgent one for the ministry because the law on support of adult education (implemented 1973), which set the legal basis for the actions of civil servants and legitimated a *status quo ante*, also required a means of representation of the national agencies of adult education.[55]

Owing to the underlying political pattern and the prevailing balance of forces, the activities of *KEBÖ* are possible only at a level of minimal consensus, and the conference is always open to the reproach of being ineffective. Nevertheless, at the end of the 1980s it was able to contribute successfully to winning an important increase in state support for adult education.

Structural development policy

Austrian structural development policy has two general elements: first, adequate provision of educational programmes, and secondly professionalization of adult education. The first element has considerable general relevance for a number of the country's regions, but there is also a more detailed 'content' aspect, in that it raises important questions about what should be offered and to whom. The second element requires the development of existing institutes and organizations which for the most part have an insufficient number of full-time staff, and pursue a relatively unsophisticated pattern of activity. Structural development means to a great extent the binding of adult education to societal interests. As a result it acquires greater social significance but also finds itself in a situation of tension *vis-à-vis* other social developments affecting the public in general.

When Glöckel began building a common structure for the educational system he also began the creation of a common system of popular education. His *Regulativ* formulated the objectives of state policy in popular education. The underlying idea, namely organization on a basis of representative democracy, remains important even today. It is reflected in, for instance, the Further Education Law of South Tyrol and also in schemes of regional development as practised in Steiermark (Styria).[56] The *Regulativ* required the formation of community education councils and subsequently initiatives and institutes for popular education grew up. The orientation of state policy towards rural and peasants' education also proved very important for the present situation of adult education, bringing into being numerous institutes and agencies.

The OECD report on educational planning in Austria advanced the discussion on educational reform and implanted new ideas in adult education. The case for the latter was now argued in the context of technical and scientific change and rising needs for qualification; lifelong learning came into the centre of educational policy. No longer could an adequate definition of purpose in adult education be derived from a 'neo-humanistic ideal of education'. Adult education would have to be 'shaper, stimulator and releaser of motivation'.[57]

Planning in adult education led on to reflections about a critical inventory and evaluation. When the OECD report spoke of adult education it meant the institutions of general education. But at the same time it was stated that adult education embraced more than those associations which designate themselves as 'adult education'. It was also to include distance learning, the educational work of broadcasting, television and the press, vocational education, further education and also political education by the parties. The Austrian response was to propose that development should take place through formal planning, exploiting the key concepts of 'area provision' and 'central facilities' in order to make continuous forms of adult educational provision available to all those within the particular domain.[58]

Many ambitious—though unrealized—plans for the reform of adult education looked towards full integration into the educational system. But between federalist politics and party politics the reformers became bogged down. The beginning of the 1980s marked a new phase characterized by systematic policies on structural development. This started with 'Development Planning', continued with measures for providing full-time staffing, and led up to the introduction of an Adult Education Information System.

The objective of Austrian development planning is nothing less than providing the country's population with educational facilities covering economic, societal and individual needs.[59] It was introduced in July 1980 by the minister of education. After a one-year phase of consultations with and between the adult education associations and with the provinces, the 'Principles of Development Planning for a Co-operative System of Adult Education' were presented. These gave concrete expression to the earlier proposals by embodying development planning in specific projects. The original goals were to be reached by way of limited initiatives, and not by big steps. Development planning was also to include a co-operative approximation, in the form of partnership with the associations. The goal was not adult education *per se* but the development of existing institutions, including their own potential for self-renovation.[60]

Within the framework of development planning projects were undertaken in different waves. They included organization development, open access, regional development, and origination of materials for training course-leaders and for participants. Special attention was paid to the onward transfer of projects to other provinces and institutions.

Development planning was the first trial of systematic and focused projects within state policy. In this sense it was also a contribution to professionalization. Yet, it was not able to bring about a reduction of competition, 'profile mania', or factionalism in adult education. Useful co-operation did take place at the level of advisory and co-ordinating committees, but not at the level of the projects themselves. The working climate of relations between the associations and the education ministry did improve, however, and the fear of 'nationalization' may have faded somewhat.

An important lesson from the projects was that such activity could not compensate for the inadequate basic facilities of the organizations themselves. It was judged necessary that 'the associations of Austrian adult education shall be equipped with an adequate number of qualified personnel as far as possible on the national level, the province level and also on regional and local levels'.[61] The engagement of staff must be purposeful, and also properly co-ordinated with other measures for improving structures and with the educational needs of particular centres of provision.

From 1984 onwards this recruitment of personnel was realized at different levels. At the beginning there was the 'Action on unemployed teachers in adult education', and then there followed schemes such as 'Pedagogical staff for provincial umbrella associations' and 'Pedagogical staff for education organizations'. At the beginning of 1994, according to information from the ministry of education, more than three hundred persons were included in the scope of the action-projects mentioned above, receiving financial support to work in organizations belonging to *KEBÖ*, and the majority were operating at a basic level as educators of adults. In 1992 the member organizations of *KEBÖ* had a total of approximately 3,500 staff with a primary commitment to the work, and about one third of those were engaged more or less directly in teaching; thus the contribution of the education ministry to improving professionalization was far from negligible.

In 1993 the *Erwachsenenbildungs-Informations-Service* (*EBIS*: Adult Education Information Service) was established on the initiative of the ministry. The details of programmes in selected fields are now held in a database, including the objectives of the courses offered and facilities provided by the organizations. This provides the basis for counselling and a telephone information-service. Control and supervision, in the sense of orientation to consumers' needs, has been improved, and through this service potential participants can easily compare costs and likely benefits.[62]

Conclusion: adult education and the state

Institutions representing common interests are an important requirement for furthering state action to achieve policy goals. Historically, the first phase of institutionalization becomes evident with the appearance of voluntary bodies and institutes for popular education in the last third of the nineteenth century. During the First Republic new organizations develop as free associations, but also through the administrative intervention of the state. Public policy proves to be especially significant to the development of new organizations in rural popular education. A second phase begins after 1945 when new institutions come into being, and when vocationally-orientated organizations are included under the auspices of 'social partnership', and when umbrella organizations are created in the provinces and on the national level. A third phase comes with the foundation of the *KEBÖ* in 1972, and the attempt to institutionalize co-ordination itself. The involvement of state agencies is a very immediate one, and state interests are very obvious in the process of securing and legalizing governmental support for adult education.

The legal basis for public action was first laid in 1918/19. At that date the state departed from the role of 'night-watchman', and began to intervene by providing financial and other material support. Over the following years an extensive scheme of training popular educators in the Austrian provinces carried the process forward. The ideas of the *Neue Richtung* provided a theoretical and conceptual basis; however limited their practical effect, they can nevertheless be said to have had a 'restaurative' (restoration) influence.[63] State intervention and support of rural popular education led to an extension of the system, though as part of the political opposition to 'Red Vienna'. Popular education was part of a cultural movement for integrating the inhabitants into the newly-formed republic, for creating state-consciousness and *Heimat* sentiments. The first attempts at creating this awareness in the 1920s were taken over by Austro-Fascism in the 1930s, when education became more and more an instrument for work with the unemployed with the aims of occupying time, integration and pacification.

Adult education policy in the early years of the Second Republic had two characteristic features: first, a certain lack of clarity about aims and function (a phenomenon observed internationally at that time); secondly, a recurrent failure in attempts to achieve equal status with other parts of the educational system. Then, with the onset of educational planning, and also the attribution of unprecedented significance to adult education by international organizations, a new role became available which permitted greater integration into the educational system. Adult education was seen as an equal partner, taking over at the point where school ends. It acquired a function in the framework of democratization, though economic and social-policy arguments remained more or less evenly balanced.

This integration was undermined from the 1970s onwards because of the involvement of so many diverging interests and political actors—manifesting themselves as conflict between the state and the provinces over the federalist issue; a laager-mentality among the associations; the rift between general and vocational education; and finally confusions within adult education itself, a construct with many varying interests, different levels of professionalization, and different potentials for development. In this same period the expansion of upper-secondary schooling (general and vocational) and of the universities had the effect of incorporating the necessary further and higher qualification into the formal educational system.

In the context of intensifying economic recession adult education became linked to labour-market policy by shifts in the flow of financial support, and educational work with the unemployed gained in importance. Its new concerns included not only psychological stabilization, retraining and further education, but also the creation of new jobs. Most recently Austria has experienced demands for reductions in public expenditure and anxieties about the costs of the state educational system. Here the concept of integration of adult education gains a new importance: it appears increasingly as a favoured alternative to traditional structures, and is re-conceptualized to match the primacy accorded to economic measures and a technologically-based further education.

The relations of adult education and the state are frequently perceived in terms of governmental influence and a possible threat to independence. Very rarely does one encounter an approach to analysing this relationship which asks whether adult education influences the state or its policies.[64] Little or no attention is given to adult education in the context of theories of the state, for example conceptions of the welfare state. This neglect cannot be remedied here, but to bring this chapter to a conclusion a number of hypotheses are formulated concerning the aims and functions of state adult education policy.

- State adult education policy is synonymous with state intervention in adult education, but 'intervention' is itself a complex issue.
- The forms, characteristics and intensity of state intervention in adult education depend on the existing political system. Highly developed democratic and pluralistic systems generate intervention based on support and financial incentive. Intervention follows the principle of subsidiarity, though that does not mean assistance without conditions. Totalitarian systems can be characterized by their interest in maintaining a direct grip on adult education.
- The nature of state adult education policy depends on the characteristics of the political system but also of the prevailing civic culture. The Austrian example shows a marked attachment to policy 'from above'.
- State intervention draws adult education into the realm of social policy. As adult education becomes more important, so it becomes more closely integrated in social affairs; this in turn requires it to have an impact on social policy. The freedom of adult education does not depend on disjunction from society and economy, but on precisely the opposite,

and especially on its being able to take an active role within the framework of integration.

- The integration of adult eduction has been the main objective of adult education policy. It is neither more nor less than one of the many dimensions of public policy, by which the state seeks identity-creation, political legitimation, security of governmental control, but also the development of society's cultural and educational well-being.
- This multi-functional potential of adult education for state policy-making brings with it the danger of a relatively easy accommodation to political systems, and a corresponding failure to examine the content and *modus operandi* of those systems.
- State adult education policy is primarily structural policy. It acts on a macro- as well as on a micro-level by contributing to the formation of the entire adult education system as well as to the inner structure of the organizations involved.

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